A

CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA

DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD

BY

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

It is very much regretted that the author has been unable to revise the proofs himself, owing to his absence from India while the book was being printed; but every care has been taken by the Publishers to avoid errors.

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PREFACE

An attempt is made in the following pages to trace the cultural evolution of India during the British period. "Culture" is a difficult word to define, but I have taken it in the broadest sense, to include all those movements which have to do with a people's mind and its social organisation. Manners and morals, journalism and literature, education and public life, the transformation of religious and social ideas, economics, art and industry, and finally, politics in so far as they deal with formative ideas rather than controversial facts, will all claim our attention. But all these matters must be placed in due proportion. Here we are not writing political or literary or religious or social history, or the history of education or journalism, art, economics, or industry. We are taking a bird's-eye view of the forces which are moulding our culture.

The matters I am dealing with are rarely touched on in Indian histories; or touched on so slightly or from such a purely administrative point of view that they lose their human interest. And yet these are the very stuff of history. If we were concerned with a country in Europe or America we should find numerous separate monographs on each of these activities to help us in our synthesis. In dealing with India we have no such help. We must start from the very beginning. We must not only have an architectural plan, but we must seek out our raw materials. We must clear our own sites, make our own bricks and mortar, and perhaps even extract our own metals from the mines direct. Any one who has had experience of research on these lines, through books, newspapers, and manuscripts in various languages, each supplying just the barest hint here and there, will appreciate the enormous amount of labour and time involved in such an undertaking. I have been under the further handicap of writing these pages away from India, in a busy life of travel and devotion to most varied interests. Wherever possible, I have gone direct to the original sources and contemporary documents.

My object has been to interest Indian readers in matters not usually brought to their attention. Many matters unfamiliar to them will be found touched on in these pages. The explanation of unfamiliar matters must necessarily involve the use of unfamiliar words and phrases, for which I must crave the indulgence of readers, especially those who believe in old traditions and beaten paths. In exploring new territory I have ventured to open up new paths for myself, believing, as I do, that literary style must follow the evolution of new ideas and modes of thought. The evolution of British Indian culture is dominated by British ideas, which lurk even beneath the protests of those who are in revolt against what they term foreign ideas. For my part, I believe, like a character in a famous Latin comedy, that nothing is foreign which is founded on the bed-rock of human nature.

The list of books in the Appendix will show the books to which I have directly referred in the text. The actual amount of reading covered is much wider, and can hardly be indicated in any but a pedantic list. On minor points I have received assistance from many quarters which I have indicated in notes in the appropriate places. I would specially mention the help of competent authorities of the British Museum on points of Oriental typography and the Masonic authorities of Great Britain on the history of Freemasonry in India. In the work of translation, revision, and transcription, my warmest acknowledgments are due to Prof. Saadat Ali Khan, who has devoted the whole of his vacation to this labour of love. I must also acknowledge the friendly assistance of Khan Saheb Maulvi Feroz Din and Mr. Waheed Khan. For valuable assistance in translation I am indebted to Chaudhri Gulam Haidar Khan and Mr. Hari Chand Akhtar. If the interest evoked among my personal friends is any indication of the interest to be expected from the public in the work, I may venture to hope that this line of inquiry will be followed by more intensive studies in the future.

A. YUSUF ALI

SECTION I

THE IMMEDIATE BACKGROUND

CHAPTER I

WHAT THE BRITISH TOOK OVER

BRITISH INDIA FOR CULTURAL PURPOSES BEGAN IN 1773

For cultural purposes we may begin the history of British influence in India from 1773, the date of the Regulating Act. For political purposes the battle of Plassey (1757) was important: it led to a series of military, political, and diplomatic events. But it did not directly bring the British into cultural relations with India. The political and economic disturbances which these events produced accentuated a deterioration in the character of the people, which brought them into contempt with their new rulers and disturbed such solidarity as had existed between Hindus and Muslims in India. The terrible famine of 1770, which practically laid waste the territory of Bengal had its repercussions on the mental and moral life of the people. The period between 1757 and 1773 in Bengal cannot be called a period of British rule. It may be more fitly called a period of British anarchy. It added one more centre, perhaps the worst, to the many centres of anarchy all over India.

BACKGROUND OF THE PICTURE, 1750-1780

We must always remember that the eighteenth century in India was a period of anarchy. When Warren Hastings, in the Review of his administration, written in 1785, claimed that the British possessions in Bengal and Bihar were better cultivated when compared with the lands of any other State of Hindustan, or with the period of the grant of the *Diwani* and many years preceding it, the claim is valid. But the comparison is with areas or periods of continuing anarchy. It does not follow that the people of India generally in 1785 were happier or better in culture or character than they had been in 1685 or in 1585. On the other hand the plea that there were no dark spots in pre-British India, Hindu or Muslim, and that British rule has meant a continuous degradation of the people is palpably false. In the present study we are concerned only with the gradual development of Indian culture in the British period, and it will be profitable to cast a rapid glance at the background of the moving picture of growth and development which we shall try to present. That background has its lights and shades, but it is neither as gloomy as it is sometimes represented to be nor as bright as we should like it to have been. To give definition to the background let us take the period between 1750 and 1780.

CRUMBLING AUTHORITY OF DELHI

The centre of authority in Delhi was growing weaker and weaker. Its outlying provinces were subject to attacks from without and disorders from within. The viceroys in the Provinces were in revolt against the narrow cliques that succeeded each other in Delhi, and some of them set up usurped authority as against Delhi and withheld tribute from the Empire. Their own revolt encouraged revolt from various elements in their own territory. The infection spread from centre to centre. In the Deccan the Subadar's authority was being gradually circumscribed by the Marathas, the French, the British, and various other contending powers that were rising on the ruins of authority. The Marathas were aiming at influence at Delhi itself, until the battle of Panipat in 1761 broke their power as an organised Confederacy. The Punjab had repeatedly been shaken by invasions from Afghanistan and was becoming a no-man's-land in which the Sikhs were establishing their own supremacy when the Afghans were otherwise engaged. The Nawab-Wazir of the Mughal Empire was established in Oudh, but his connection with Delhi had become nominal, and he had soon to meet a new danger from Bengal.

POLITICAL POSITION OF BENGAL

In Bengal a usurping family had made good its power and nearly cut itself off from Delhi. A young and headstrong Nawab came to the Masnad in 1756, and a series of conspiracies began against him which ended in his ignominious rout and the reduction of his successors to the position of puppets in the hands of Clive. The British power, after a few preliminary reverses, proved itself stronger in arms and diplomacy, and also (it must be confessed) in craft, than any of the country powers. Calcutta was fortified, the British fleet sailed up the river Hugli and captured the French town of Chandranagore, and all Bengal lay at the feet of the British. The Mughal Crown Prince marched eastward to reassert the supremacy of the Empire over Bengal, but the treachery of the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh and the vigilance of Clive thwarted his plans, and Clive got a magnificent Jagir from the puppet Nawab of Bengal in gratitude for the protection afforded to him. More intrigues and revelations followed in Bengal, with more advantage to the East India Company and its servants. The Nawab-Wazir of Oudh was drawn into the fray, and the Crown Prince, now the Emperor Shah Alam II, acting with him, was defeated, and thus both Oudh and the Emperor came into the power of the Company. At length in 1765 the Diwani or revenue administration of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was formally obtained by grant in perpetuity from the Emperor, and the British power in Bengal was thus confirmed by treaty.

BUILDING UP OF BRITISH AUTHORITY

After that Bengal (including Bihar and Orissa) was practically treated as British territory, and figures largely in the proceedings of the British Parliament. When the revenue and treasury headquarters were removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta in 1772, and the dual system of government was abolished, the Company really "stood forth as Diwan." With the passing of the Regulating Act in 1773, to come into effect in 1774, the true British regime began, with responsibility to the Ministry and Parliament of Great Britain. Unity was given to the British power in India by the subordination of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies to Bengal. Although the greater part of the Indian Peninsula was still outside British jurisdiction, and even in Bengal the reality of British rule was marked by various fictions, such as those connected with coinage or *Nazars*, the directing power passed out of Indian hands. In Indian India there was left nothing but a mass of conflicting elements, great and small, decaying, newly risen, or newly rising. Their mutual rivalries and jealousies, and ever-varying combinations made the cultural disorder still worse. Rifts which in days of prosperity might have been treated as negligible were in days of confusion widened to the breaking point.

RUIN OF CULTURE AND OF MORAL AND SOCIAL LIFE

The dual system of government in Bengal (1765-1772) requires a little examination from our present point of view. When the British East India Company first took over the direction of affairs, it had few men in its service who were sufficiently acquainted with revenue matters to deal justly with rural interests. Even in the matter of merchandise they could not take long views and nourish the goose that laid for them the golden eggs. The Drakes, the Watts's, and the Holwells, were pedlars who could not rise to heights of statesmanship, where men not only seek their own personal advantage but the good of a larger body of which they are members, and also see the point of view of those whom they defeat or displace. Clive was certainly able to take large views, but he was a soldier made by opportunity and the genius to take quick decisions. He shared the cupidity and unscrupulousness of his associates. At his best he wanted to fasten the Company's yoke on India. The interests of Bengal never occurred to his mind or the minds of his associates. Lifted from the hum-drum atmosphere and discipline of the counting-house, to giddy heights of political supremacy, they found themselves unable (even if they had been willing) to choose the best and most honest Indians for their functionaries. They were out for plunder, and their subordinates could not be blamed for following their example. They put their own selfish interests above those of the Company they served, and their subordinates treated them with as little loyalty as was safe in the circumstances. Just as the Company's English servants traded on the ignorance of the Company at home, the Indians whom the Company's agents employed in India traded on the ignorance of their immediate masters. The Naib Diwans, sitting at Murshidabad and Patna, were controlled with no more efficiency from Calcutta than Calcutta was from London. The people of Bengal did not count with either set of men; and the country, its culture, its morals, and its social life, its trade and its cultivation rapidly went to rack and ruin.

ECONOMIC DEMORALISATION PRODUCED SOCIAL AND MORAL DEMORALISATION

Next to the political revolutions, the economic revolutions were the most startling, and these can be measured in tangible terms. Bengal had been the most fertile and the most prosperous province of the Mughal Empire. It had been called the granary of the Empire. In these few years it was depopulated. Ryots ran away. They were hard to find, and had to be coaxed to cultivate the land. Many of the Zamindars, under the new system of severe demands strictly enforced, and without the personal nexus which had made the old system work, were ruined and disappeared. The dreadful famine of 1770 left its marks on the country for many years. In the memoirs of William Hickey, attorney, who was in India for the third time from 1782 to 1808 and returned to England with a fortune of £13,000, we find a description of the famine of 1789. There was a stream of miserable wretches pouring into Calcutta. Dead and dying were lying in every street. For many weeks together no less than 50 died daily; yet the people were patient and long-suffering, and there was no act of violence. On the 18th September, 1789, Lord Cornwallis in his Minute had to say: "I may safely assert that one-third of the Company's territory in Hindustan is now a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts. Will a ten years' lease induce any proprietor to clear away that jungle, and encourage the ryots to come and cultivate his lands, or lose all hopes of deriving any benefit from his labour, for which perhaps by that time he will hardly be repaid?". It was said in the Company's records that all the evils were due to the system which they inherited. But they scarcely understood the system which they inherited, which was laid down with meticulous care in elaborate Dastur-ul Amals from the reign of Akbar onwards. Arrears used to be collected with some consideration and some regard for the conditions of the peasantry. Now they were collected under a cast-iron system. Where temporary coercion, mild or severe, was previously employed against defaulters, now, under the craze for punctuality, they were sold up and set adrift, and in the conditions then obtaining, practically debarred from any means of livelihood. Extortion was not unknown before. But now it was doubled or quadrupled. The underlings could do what they liked, as their masters were foreigners and could suspect but could not personally and effectually circumvent their tricks. And these same foreigners were acting on the principle of "get-rich-quickly-and-clear-out-of-the-country." Their greed was on a much bigger scale than that of their subordinates, and it had to be satisfied ultimately by extortion. The customs and usages which regulated the relations between the various interests connected with land were well understood in the village, but had no place in the new rack-renting system. The delays, uncertainties, and technicalities of the new tribunals penalised the honest as against the dishonest, the law-abiding as against those who did not wish to deal fairly. Honest men who had made mistakes or miscalculations were turned into rogues. Craft and treachery paid, and tended to displace normal virtues in high quarters.

AGGRAVATED BY ABUSES IN TRADE AND COMMERCE

In trade and commerce the depression of agriculture was faithfully reflected, but there were additional evils due to the very position and history of the East India Company. The foreign trade of India was entirely in the Company's hands. The Company's position was peculiar. It had a double monopoly. On the one hand it had the monopoly of the Indian trade in the Company's own country, in which the fine textile manufactures of India came into competition with the growing cotton manufactures of England. The muslins of Dacca and the white calicoes of the Madras coast were famous for their quality; they were subjected in 1774 to a duty of 43 per cent. in England. On the other hand, by a *Farman* of Farrukh Siyar, of 1717, the English Company had obtained a monopoly in India itself, which placed them not only above any other European traders, but gave them an extraordinary advantage over the natives of the country. A passport (or *dastak*) signed by the English President of

Calcutta exempted any goods mentioned in it from duty, stoppage, or even inspection. Its legitimate use was bad enough for the country. But it was shamelessly abused, and that abuse constituted one of the causes of quarrel between the Bengal Nawabs and the Company. Even the proposal of the Bengal Nawab's Government to give the same exemption to its own subjects was resisted by the Company. When the Company became masters, the abuse became still more flagrant.

MONOPOLIES WITHIN MONOPOLY

But there was a further monopoly within the Company's monopoly. The inland trade in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, and rice was very profitable, as they were articles of general consumption. The Company's servants made a private monopoly of this trade, and pocketed huge profits. Oil, fish, straw, bamboos, etc., were added to the lists of articles of daily use in which the market was rigged. The scandal of the Company's servants buying and selling forcibly at their own prices went so far that the Directors of the Company intervened in 1764 and forbade private trade altogether. But the Company's servants calmly disobeyed these orders. The superior servants of the Company, including Clive, formed (1765) what they called The Society of Trade, selecting for their field salt, betel-nut and tobacco, the most lucrative items of trade. The monopoly was so profitable that Clive sold his five shares in 1767 for £32,000. These were promotion shares, of which five were allotted to the Governor as such, without payment. In an earlier monopoly of salt alone the profit had been 45 per cent. in nine months. This was not trade, but robbery and spoliation, with the use of the weapons which armed power and political supremacy had placed in their hands.

ARBITRARY ECONOMIC OPPRESSION

William Bolt in 1772 published a scathing denunciation of these evils. "It may with truth" he says "be now said that the whole inland trade of the country, as at present conducted, and that of the Company's investment for Europe in a more peculiar degree, has been one continued scene of oppression: the baneful effects of which are severely felt by every weaver and manufacturer in the country, every article produced being made a monopoly; in which the English, with their *banyans* and black *gomastas* arbitrarily decide what quantities of goods each manufacturer shall deliver, and the *prices* he shall receive for them."

INSTRUMENTS OF SUCH OPPRESSION

"A Banyan" he explains in another place "is a person (either acting for himself, or as the substitute of some great black merchant) by whom the English gentlemen in general transact all their business. He is interpreter, head-bookkeeper, head-secretary, head-broker, the supplier of cash and cash-keeper, and in general also secret-keeper. He puts in the under-clerks, the porter or door-keeper, stewards, bearers of the silver staves, running-footmen, torch and branch-light carriers, palanquin-bearers, and all the long tribe of under-servants, for whose honesty he is deemed answerable; and he conducts all the trade of his master, to whom, unless pretty well acquainted with the country languages, it is difficult for any of the natives to obtain access. In short he possesses singly many more powers over his master, than can in this country be assumed by any young spendthrift's steward, money-lender, and mistress all together; and farther serves very conveniently sometimes, on a public discussion, to father such acts or proceedings as his master does not avow. There is a powerful string of connections among these *banyans* who serve all the English in the settlements of Bengal, as well in all public offices as in their private affairs."

HOW THEY WERE CREATED AND FOSTERED

"Since the great influence acquired there by the English," continues Bolt, "many persons of the best Hindu families take upon them this trust or servitude, and can even pay a sum of money for serving gentlemen in certain posts; but principally for the influence which they acquire thereby, and the advantage of carrying on trade, which they could not otherwise do; and which in this situation they frequently do, duty-free,under cover of their master's *dastaks*. There have been few instances of any European acquiring such a knowledge in speaking, reading, and writing the Bengal language (which is absolutely necessary for a real merchant) as to be able to do without such a head-*banyan.*" *

DECLINE OF SKILL AND INDUSTRY

The rapid decline of skill and industry and economic demoralisation is thus sketched. "Inconceivable oppressions and hardships have been practised towards the poor manufacturers and workmen of the country, who are, in fact, monopolised by the Company as so many slaves........... Various and innumerable are the methods of oppressing the poor weavers, which are duly practised by the Company's agents and *gomastas* in the country; such as by fines, imprisonments, floggings, forcing bonds from them, etc.; by which the number of weavers in the country has been greatly decreased. The natural consequences whereof have been, the scarcity, dearness, and debasement of the manufactures as well as a great diminution of the revenue."

NO MUTUAL RESPECT OR ADMIRATION, AS BETWEEN INDIA AND ENGLAND

In such political and economic conditions, it was hardly to be expected that the great virtues should flourish on either side, or that either side should have respect or admiration for the other. On the Indian side there was no doubt much criticism of the English, though, as the subdued side, its records have not been published to any great extent, and in those which have been published, it had to adopt a respectful tone to the conqueror. But Saiyid Ghulam Husain Khan, the author of *Siyar-ul-Mutaakherin* had some shrewd thrusts at the new government, although he was friendly to the British and particularly to Warren Hastings, as will be seen in the next chapter. The worshippers of the rising sun naturally said nothing in public to injure their own interests. But it is interesting to read the contemporary account which the poet Mir Taqi Mir gives in his autobiography (Zikr-i-Mir) of the visit of the Governor-General (Warren Hastings) to Lucknow in 1784. Mir was under the patronage of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula, and naturally wished to say the best he could of the Nawab's honoured guest. He describes minutely the magnificence of the reception, the splendour of the fireworks, and the opulence of the feasts, but is significantly reticent about the moral impression which the Englishmen left on his mind. A later writer, Mirza Abu Talib Khan, in his *Travels to the West*, speaks out his mind when he describes "that overbearing insolence which characterises the vulgar part of the English in their conduct to Orientals."

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* This sketch of the Banyan by Bolt may be compared with Burke's sketch in his indictment of Warren Hastings (Speech on the Third day).

MISSIONARY POINT OF VIEW: (1) PROTESTANT

English or European writers in India formed their impressions in two ways: (1) through the missionaries, and (2) through the Company's servants. The missionaries were very worthy people, but in those early days they held very narrow views. The German missionary Schwartz came out in the first instance (1750) to the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, on the Coromandel coast, and had studied Tamil before he came out. But he subsequently accepted the post of Garrison Chaplain under the Government of Madras, and became tutor to the Raja of Tanjore's son, no doubt through the good offices of the British. He was a Lutheran. The rest of the people were to him not Hindus, Muslims, or Roman Catholics, but mere "heathens, Moors, or Romish." He no doubt sincerely believed that there was nothing good outside the protestant form of Christianity. We can therefore understand why he saw very little good in India.

(2) CATHOLIC POINT OF VIEW

The Carmelite Friar, Fra Paolino Bartolomeo, was mainly interested in the Roman Catholics. He was in India, mostly southern India, from 1776 to 1789. He published an account of the manners and customs of India in German, and his book was translated into English in 1799. He gives a scathing account of the Brahmans. Their sole business, he found, was commerce. He rarely met a Brahman who possessed knowledge or was candid enough to impart it. This was not the experience of the British in Bengal, but no doubt the good Padri's own exclusiveness was partly responsible for his being shut out of the confidence of the Brahmans. The most interesting point he makes is about his own Roman Catholic congregations of Indians, and the effect on them of contact with Europeans. They tended to become unruly. He found it much easier in Malabar to keep in order fifty congregations in the interior of the country than two on the sea-coast, "where the inhabitants have intercourse with Europeans."

WHY THE OFFICIALS FORMED A LOW ESTIMATE OF INDIANS

The Company's servants met a different class of Indians from those who mainly came into contact with the Missionaries. The latter were mostly Pariahs. The men whom the Company's servants dealt with habitually were the subtle merchants or the official classes, who in those days of general demoralisation were corrupt and arrogant, and whom contact with the clever men from Europe did not make more confiding or more reliable. Mr. Luke Scrafton, who had been the British Resident at Murshidabad in 1758, published an account of the people in 1763, which is fairly balanced in its judgment, though some of his generalisations are too wide. He describes the intrigues, the treacheries, and the espionage, which he found in the government of the Nawab of Bengal, with merciless realism.

WANT OF LOYALTY AND PATRIOTISM

"Loyalty and patriotism," he says, "those virtuous incentives to great and noble actions, are here unknown, and when they cease to fear, they cease to obey. But to keep their fears and mistrusts in perpetual agitation, whole legions of spies are entertained by the government. These are dispersed all over the country, and insinuating themselves into the families of the great, if they engage in any plot, are sure to betray them, but often give false information against the innocent for the sake of reward. The person informed against, ignorant whence the information comes, in self-preservation informs against his nearest friends. Thus mutual good faith, the bond of society, is broke, and treachery and suspicion embitter every hour of their lives."

Corruption he mentions in another place, but in that respect the hands of the Company were certainly not clean. He notes a bribe paid by the Company to Nand Kumar, the

Nawab's Governor of Hugli, to abandon Chandranagore, when the British were about to attack it.

"ONCE FLOURISHING AND PLENTIFUL COUNTRY"

The gloomy picture drawn by Scrafton has its counterpart in the remarks about the Mughal government *before* its power became relaxed and its control over the Provinces practically ceased. Till the invasion of Nadir Shah (1739), he says, "there was scarce a better administered government in the world. The manufactures, commerce, and agriculture flourished exceedingly; and none felt the hand of oppression but those who were dangerous by their wealth or power." A recent authority writes more guardedly*: "Every student of social history will confess that the condition of the peasantry in Bengal in the middle of the eighteenth century compared not unfavourably with that of the same class in France or Germany." But, to continue Scrafton's story, "when the governors of the Provinces found the weakness of the Mughal, and each set up for sovereign in his own province, although they would not break through these immutable laws, they invented new taxes under new names which doubled or trebled the original one, and which the landholder was obliged to levy on his tenants. The old stock of wealth for some time supported this; but when that failed, and the tenants were still pressed for more, they borrowed of usurers at an exorbitant interest. And the government still continuing these demands, the lords of the land were obliged to do the same. But all this while the value of the lands did not increase. The consequence was that at last, unable to pay the interest of the mortgages, the rents were seized by rapacious usurers. The government, finding the revenues fall shorter every year, at last sent collectors and farmers of revenue into the provinces. Thus the lord of the land was divested of the power over his country, and the tenants exposed to merciless plunderers, till the farmer and manufacturer, finding the more they laboured the more they paid, the manufacturer would work no more, and the farmer cultivate no more than was necessary for the bare subsistance of his family. Thus this once flourishing and plentiful country has, in the course of a few years, been reduced to such misery that many thousands are continually perishing through want."

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*S. C. Hill: Bengal in 1756-7 I. xxiii.

HAPPINESS AND THE EQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

"Hence" continues Scrafton "that equal distribution of wealth, that makes the happiness of a people, and spreads a face of cheerfulness and plenty through all ranks, has now ceased. And the riches of the country are settled partly in the hands of a few usurers and greedy courtiers; and the rest is carried out of the country by the foreign troops taken into pay to maintain the governors in their usurpation. This unhappy decay the India Company have already experienced, in the decline of their trade, and rise in the price of their manufactures."

DRIVING FORCE BEHIND CORNWALLIS' LAND REFORM

These dreadful conditions were progressively aggravated under the Company's early administration, until Lord Cornwallis's land reforms had had time to mature. Whatever faults economic theorists may find in them, supreme necessity dictated some very liberal measure of the relief of land from the burdens of the government demand.

SCRAFTON'S SOCIAL PICTURE

A few further remarks, bearing on the cultural picture of India, may be noted before we take leave of Scrafton. Even in the Indian anarchy, tank and irrigation bunds were maintained by the government. The roads were safe. Robbery was rare. Even diamond merchants carried no weapons of defence. There were inns or shelters for way-farers every two or three miles. There was widespread interest in astronomy and astrology. Eclipses were noted and duly listed. But there were many superstitions. The careful working-out of the auspicious and inauspicious moments haunted the people. Hindu marriages were arranged in infancy, and consummated at fourteen years for boys and ten and eleven for girls. It was common to see a girl of twelve already a mother, with a child in her arms. Barren women were rare, but the actual number of children was not large. At eighteen years of age a woman's beauty was already on the decline. At twenty-five she bore the marks of age. Men declined after thirty. The practice of *Sati* (immolation of widows) was far from common. It was only observed among women of illustrious families. The boys of the Nawabi class were left with women or children till the age of five or six. Then they were put under tutors, and learned company manners. In manners and ceremonies they were punctilious. They learnt to ride and use arms. The shield and sabre were the chief weapons, with a dagger (*Katari*) at waist. By thirteen or fourteen years of age they learnt things they should not have known. There was much hospitality. But within the families there was a great deal of mutual distrust. There was usually little confidence between father and son.

A WOMAN'S PICTURE OF WOMEN AND SOCIAL LIFE

From Eliza Fay's Letters we learn more intimate details about women. Hindu ladies in Bengal were never seen abroad. They devoted an enormous amount of attention to self-decoration. The hair, the eye-lids, the eyebrows, the teeth, the hands, and the nails all received fancy decorations. Beggars, Jogis, and Sanyasis were met with everywhere. Self-torture was common. At the Charak-puja, of which we have contemporary pictures by artists, men suspended themselves by hooks in the back. In Madras she found the dancing girls disappointing. She was much struck by the skill of the jugglers and their astonishing powers of balancing. She notes also the wonderful courage of the Madrasi boatmen in riding the surf in catamarans,—crafts of bamboos fastened together and paddled by single individuals.

POWERS OF PHYSICAL ENDURANCE

Though the physique of the people as a whole was poor, their simple life gave special classes special powers of endurance and special nerve. Orme notes how Kahars would go fifty miles a day, for twenty or thirty days without intermission, and how Indian infantry, when carrying no weights, would march faster and with less weariness than Europeans.

FAULTS OF EARLY ANGLO-INDIANS

Englishmen in India about the time of Clive and for a generation afterwards enjoyed an evil reputation with their countrymen at home, and this was reflected back on the people of India. To Clive's suicide Dr. Samuel Johnson referred (in 1778), with his usual blunt plainness: "A man who had acquired his fortune by such crimes that his consciousness of them compelled him to cut his own throat."* In the contemporary literature of England, these "Nabobs" are frequently referred to with withering contempt. They have generally enormous fortunes, acquired by unscrupulous means. They are adventurers. They are innocent of culture but vulgarly ostentatious. They are selfish, irritable, and immoral. They have no respect for law. In short they are ridiculous in any decent society, if not dangerous by reason of the power of their wealth.

REFLECTED BACK ON THE PEOPLE OF INDIA

We are not concerned here with the truth or falsity of this picture of the earlier Anglo-Indians. Such generalised pictures, painted with thick colours, must necessarily be caricatures. But behind these pictures lies the assumption that the faults catalogued were but the faults of the people of India, caught like an infection. We must seriously examine whether this was true. If it was true, we can certainly mark a great deal of moral progress, though it would not put us in good conceit of our ancestors.

PEOPLE AS A WHOLE POOR, THRIFTY, AND LAW-ABIDING

Now the Indians of the end of the 18th century, like ourselves, had many faults, and we would do well at least to mark them in ourselves and make ourselves worthier of our country. But it seems to me that the Anglo-Indian traits are really the antithesis of the traits of the Indian people as a whole, even in the decadent days of the latter part of the 18th century. India's wealth was and is a myth. There may have been a few men of wealth, like the Jagat Seths of Bengal and possibly some of the selfish Nawabs. But the whole of Indian tradition, Hindu and Muslim, was against the accumulation of wealth. As a whole our people were poor, and thrifty. The economic ideal was not to collect riches, but rather to cut down wants. An unscrupulous man of wealth would be an object of greater execration in our society than in plutocratic societies, or those which make material standards the test of civilisation. Such wealth as a man possessed he was expected to spend freely for his relatives, friends, and people. But ostentation would not bring him glory. Indeed our faults rather ran in the direction of an ostentation of poverty. There were few countries in which wealth could procure so little honour as in India. Our ancestors' tempers and morals were probably no better and no worse than those of other people. We were considered by Warren Hastings, in the Review of his Administration, to be submissive, and there is abundant testimony to show that we were law-abiding in circumstances of the greatest provocation.

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*Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. G. B. Hill, III. 350.

SEX MORALS

Our sex morals may perhaps require careful examination. Our respectable women's chastity was never called in question, and our men were no greater sinners against our institutions than men in other lands sin against their own. Instances of our men's chivalry can be cited from British records themselves. When the English factory at Kasimbazar was captured by Siraj-ud-Daula in June 1756, the Jamadar, Mirza Omar Beg, chivalrously restored the captured English ladies to their husbands. On this the remark of the French Agent in Chandranagore was: "The Moors (Muslims) are very respectful to women." When Calcutta was taken subsequently by the Nawab, the privacy of Mrs. Watts's apartments was respected, and she and her children were allowed to retire to the French factory unmolested. This was the lady, who when widowed, married again, and was known by the title of Begam Johnson. She kept a brilliant salon in Calcutta. But we had institutions that required reform: various phases of prostitution, (*e. g.*, the *devadasi* system), and the want of confidence in the relations between the sexes.

COURAGE AND CONTEMPT OF DANGER

The Frenchman (Monsieur Raymond), who translated the *Siyar-ul-Mutaakherin* into English, notes in his Preface more than one instance of brave deeds done by Indians, men and women, in those days. He rebuts the charge against them of being the most pusillanimous set of men, incapable of manly exertion. He mentions three striking instances to the contrary. Haji Yusuf Khan defended Madura (1763–4) with an activity and perseverance that cost the English more blood and trouble in a few months' time than did the whole French war in India in as many years. In Oudh twelve Rajputs, shut up in a mud enclosure, against overwhelming odds of British troops and sepoys, refused to surrender. Reduced to six, they were taken wounded and fighting. These, adds the Frenchman, were not solitary facts, but links of a chain that seemed once to bind a whole nation at large. Then there was the case of a heroic woman, a delicate princess of imperial blood, who was cut off from her main army and was attacked by a superior force. When her guard was about to be overpowered, she threw off her veil and fought like a man, exclaiming: "If you behave like women, I declare to you that women shall behave like men."

MILITARY GENIUS

Nor is British testimony wanting to the gallantry and military genius of our people in the middle of the eighteenth century. Mr. S. C. Hill has published, from the records of the Government of India, a fine biography of Commandant Yusuf Khan, the soldier of fortune, already mentioned. In his early career he fought with much distinction on the side of the English, at Trichinopoly (1752-4) and Madras (1758-9). This is how Mr. Hill sums up his character. He "began life as a humble peasant; raised himself by his military talents to high rank in the East India Company's service; then by his administrative ability, reduced to order the two most turbulent provinces of Southern India (Madura and Tinnevelley); and finally, when compelled, as James Mill says, to rebel against the Nawab (of Arcot) in self-defence, managed to maintain himself against that Prince assisted by the whole available power of the English, for a period of two years, falling at last (1764) only by the treachery of his own troops and not by the force of his enemies."* In his last struggle, Mr. Hill adds, he fought chivalrously and died gallantly. His ability, firmness, justice, and courage were admired, and his fate lamented by contemporary British soldiers.

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*S. C. Hill: Yusuf Khan, page x.

CONVULSIONS OF DESPAIR

There was thus a picture of lights and shades. There were heroic deeds among our martial men and women. There was the substantial character of the peasantry and the sensitive consciousness of the better minds overawed by external circumstances. There were court intrigues and treacheries; there were violent internal conflicts and invasions from without; there was confusion and anarchy in political and social institutions. The dawn of a new evolution in law and order, political and social institutions, artistic and literary outlook, and religious and moral ideas, was yet to come. But in the meantime the minds of the poets and thinkers were confused. A settled melancholy, a feeling of despair came over their thoughts. The convulsions in Delhi swept away many of their landmarks. They became spiritually and intellectually homeless. A feeling of despair is the key-note of the swan-song of the older Urdu poetry. Let us examine this in two of the foremost poets of the time, Mirza Muhammad Rafi Sauda and Mir Taqi Mir.

THE POET SAUDA AND HIS SATIRES

Sauda (1713-1780) was born in Delhi about the time when Delhi was the prey of state factions in the disputed succession of Farrukh Siyar. As he grew up, he saw life in its varied aspects. The withering satires which he wrote in his maturity are evidence of the decay and dissolution of society. In the subjects of his invective there is the widest variety. Bigots, decrepit noblemen, Punjab provincials, physicians, poetasters, boys flying kites, old men marrying young wives, and a host of other characters came under his lash. Of a bigot he says:

> "The angels rub his beard with sandal-wood oil;
> Troops of Houris come and scatter roses before
> him."

The poverty in the stricken-down city of Delhi was so great that noblemen had not the wherewithal to pay their retainers.

"If you buy a horse and take service with some one,
Of your salary you will see no sign except in
the world above."

The Punjabi-speaking provincials are hoist with their own petard in their own Punjabi patois. Of physicians and poets he is particularly tolerant. Of the pen with which the physician writes his prescriptions he says:

"It is not a pen, but a sharp dagger:
It kills both Hindus and Muslims."

The poet who draws forth his ire is such a fool that—

"If you speak to him, you will never hold his
attention;
A man of sense is distracted if he hears him."

"A VAGABOND, FROM ONE SHELTER TO ANOTHER"

His biting wit pours out embittered invective, and certainly the Delhi of his day must have been very trying to a man of his talent and spirit. He was courted by Shah Alam, who began to reign in 1760, and who gradually faded into nothingness before the rise of the English power. Shah Alam offered to make Sauda his Poet Laureate. Sauda retorted that it was not the Emperor but his own talent that could confer the Laureateship on him. It was about that time that he wrote his famous *Mukhammas* "The City of Terror and Confusion" (*Shahr Āshōb*). This is included in every anthology of Urdu poetry and is a most pathetic elegy on the fall of Delhi and the Mughal Empire. The Nawab-Wazir Shuja-ud-Daula, who ruled (1753-1775) and died at Fyzabad, was anxious to have in his court men of talent, and invited Sauda. But Sauda was sick at heart and was loth to leave Delhi. He replied with the following verses:–

"How long, Sauda, will you wander
In search of comfort in every direction?
How long as a vagabond—
From one shelter to another?
What gain can you win
In comfort or prosperity?
And if these you do win,
How long will *you* be here?"

IN THE OUDH COURT

Later he changed his mind and went to Shuja-ud-Daula's court about 1771. Within four years Shuja-ud-Daula died, and his son Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-1797) removed his Court to Lucknow, which now became the literary centre of Hindustan. Lucknow was also in touch with the new civilisation creeping up from Calcutta. We have no reason to suppose that an out-and-out conservative like Sauda ever paid even passing attention to this new civilisation. He passed away in 1780, and did not see the visit of the English Governor-General to Lucknow.

THE DISMAY IN THE HEART OF HINDUSTAN

Some extracts from the "City of Terror and Confusion" will illustrate the utter dismay which had crept over the heart of Hindustan. The Emperor is nerveless; his army is a rabble; his city lies dead, in desolation and silence.

> Only forced by need does he come out of the
>   moat (of his Fort);
>
> His army but knows how to turn from the fight;
> The infantry—afraid of the barber that shaves!
> The cavalry—fall off from their beds in their
>   sleep,
>
> If but in a dream they see their mount frisk.
>
> * * *
>
> If I speak of the city,—its silence and ruin,
> Even the senses of the owl would take their
>   flight:
>
> No house but resounds to the bark of the
>   jackal:
>
> If you go in the evening to a mosque to pray,
> Not a light will you find but the light of the
>   ghoul.
>
> * * *
>
> What tale of the ruins of palaces stately,
> Whose sight was enough to quench hunger and
>   thirst?
>
> See them now and your soul is but sick of its
>   life:
>
> Where flowers were in bloom, you walk waist-
>   deep in grass;

Here lies a pillar, and there a split arch.

* * *

O Shah Jahan's City, didst thou deserve this wrath?
A lover's own heart thou sure wast in thy day,
Now erased like a picture that is found to be false.
O wondrous-fair shore (that once was) on the sea of the world,
From whose sands people come to pick precious pearls.

* * *

Now silence, O Sauda: what words can say more?
What heart but is sadly consumed in this woe?
No eyes but are flooded with tears of agony:
Thy riddle can boast of no key save this—
That this age hath lineaments unique—beyond words.

MIR TAQI MIR

Mir (1724-1810) was born in Agra and was about eleven years younger than Sauda. His taste in poetry soon brought him to Delhi, and he suffered the vicissitudes of fortune which all Delhi men experienced. But he was at a greater disadvantage, as he had come from outside. He had a more religious and a gentler character than Sauda. It is interesting to compare his account of the devastated city with that of Sauda. He is as pessimistic as Sauda, but his pen is dipped more in pathos than in bitterness. He is also simpler and less artificial. But he feels that he is out of his element in the city which he loves, and his cry of agony finds expression in the simple line:

"O that in such company—I had not been."

ARTIFICIALITY OF LUCKNOW

About the year 1782 he migrated to Lucknow at the invitation of Asaf-ud-Daula, after Sauda had passed from the scene (1780), and before Warren Hastings visited the city (1784). Mir was of a retiring disposition, and he did not much care to frequent Darbars or seek the favours of Courts. But he must have come into contact with English influences in Lucknow, though he was too old to receive any impressions from them. When Fort William College was founded in Calcutta (1800), and wanted to attract the best exponents of Urdu to its fold, Mir's name was considered for the College in the preliminary negotiations. But Mir was then 76 years of age by the solar calendar, and a younger man Sher Ali Afsos was sent. It is extremely unlikely that Mir would have been happy in Calcutta. For a man of established reputation in Urdu literature Calcutta would have been an intolerable exile. Even in coming to Lucknow from Delhi Mir had felt himself a stranger, although most of the literary masters had migrated from Delhi to Lucknow. The dress, the manners, the outlook were all different in the rising city. The atmosphere of Lucknow was to these men the atmosphere of an upstart Court, which had certainly more money to spend but whose traditions were yet to be formed. The new school of Urdu literature which was being formed in Lucknow suffered from artificiality. This artificiality appears also in the Court manners and the new architecture of Lucknow. The Delhi masters lived there as honoured guests, but they founded no schools. Their tone and temper were of an age that was passing away and could not be resuscitated.

MIR'S LAMENT

The lines in which he addressed the people of Lucknow (the "denizens of the East" relatively to Delhi) are well-known:-

> "O denizens of the East, why ask about my home?
>
> Ye know I am a stranger; do you want to laugh and mock me?
>
> Delhi, which was once a city—the cream of the world,
>
> Where lived only the choicest spirits of the Time
> The heavens have given it over to plunder and ruin:
>
> That is the desolate city of which I am a citizen."

DYING CULTURE OF DELHI

Penetrating beneath the irony, we can see that there was not much love lost between the rising native school of Lucknow and the Masters of Delhi who came there at the call of the Nawab-Wazir. To the men of Delhi the cup of their agony was full. They perceived that when they lost their spiritual home in Delhi, there was no further place for them. New men would arise with new standards; but it was futile for them of the older generation to build new hopes on a world of flux that led them no one knew whither. But Mir remained independent and true to himself. His verse is sweet though sad; eloquent in its own simplicity; resigned, and certainly free from the biting humour of Sauda, which showed altogether a different view of life—arrogant and selfish. Those often-quoted verses of Mir which have almost become proverbs, express the quintessence of Mir's spirit, the spirit of the dying culture of Delhi:—

"This is but the beginning of the Love-Plaint;
why criest thou?

There are more and more things to come;
see what's in store.

Over the morning caravan
runs a cry:

'We are marching on: O laggard,
Why sleepest thou?'

Never does this withered earth
become green again;

Why sow in thy heart
the seeds of Desire?

These wounds are the marks of love:
they will not be effaced:

Why vainly wash the scars
on thy breast?"

NO HINDU-MUSLIM QUESTION

Mir has left us a valuable but all too brief autobiography, which connects him with the events of his day. It has been recently edited with a critical Introduction by Maulvi Abdul Haq, of the *Anjuman-i-Tarraqqi-i-Urdu*, Aurangabad. In all his vicissitudes and wanderings we are struck with the fact that the Hindu-Muslim question did not exist in his day, in the form which it has taken since. Among the writers of Persian histories we shall find, in Sir Henry Elliot's 8th volume of Indian Historians, quite a large number of Hindu names. The Hindus record events and sometimes refer to religious matters in the same terms as would have been used by Muslim. In mentality, when we read the Indo-Persian literature of the period, we find little difference. In events, too, as we learn from *Zikr-i-Mir*, the relations of the two communities to each other were based on other considerations than religion. The editor of *Zikr-i-Mir* has some pertinent remarks on the subject, which we proceed to quote.

"THEIR HEARTS WERE FREE FROM RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE"

"In the life of Mir, we find a glimpse of many political and social facts relating to the period. It was clear that at that time there was no Hindu-Muslim question. What could be a worse period than one in which the country was a prey everywhere to selfishness, internal dissensions, plunder and slaughter, and the last stage of decay and decline had been reached. And yet the mutual relations of Hindus and Muslims were those of brothers among brothers. They fought, and they united, but neither their friendship nor their hostility was based on distinctions of religion or community. This pest has come during their common misfortunes. All understand what it leads to, but are hopeless on account of their false pride. The Mir Sahib was in relations of trust with many Rajas. With what love and honour he mentions their kindness and consideration! Look at the nobility and goodness of Raja Nagar Mal. Disgusted with the high-handedness and inhumanity of the Jats, he boldly left the fort, but not without taking with him the twenty thousand households, Hindu and Muslim, when he had settled there and who mostly relied upon him. Though the country was in a dreadful state of calamity and decay, and high and low, Nawab and Raja, were steeped in selfishness, and thought little of the consequences ahead, yet the old standards of social friendliness continued to hold sway. In combats or feasts, on occasions of sorrow or rejoicing, in affairs of business or pleasure, they had not the narrow views and intolerance whose reign we see today. Their age was not free from grave vices—ill-breeding, trickery, perfidy and treachery were not unknown among them. But at least their hearts were free from that great vice, religious intolerance."

BRITISH TESTIMONY

We can cite the contemporary evidence of an English witness, an administrator of social and literary distinction. Mr. James Forbes resided in India in a position of authority for seventeen years. Writing about Broach about 1778, he expresses mild surprise at the fact of there being no division between Hindus and Muslims, though curiously enough he notes the existence of a very unpleasant schism among the Parsis, who formed a considerable proportion of the population of the Town. He writes in his *Oriental Memoirs*: "Whatever might have been the animosities between the Hindus and Mahomedans in the time of Baba Rahan (1078 A.D.) or during subsequent periods, it is certain that now the professors of both religions (Hindus and Muslims) have acquired a habit of looking on each other with an eye of indulgence unusual in other countries between those who maintain such opposite tenets." Baba Rahan was a Muslim saint whose Mausoleum still stands on a hill about a mile to the north-west of the city of Broach.

SECTION II

THE APPROACH OF TWO CULTURES—1773-1818

CHAPTER II

EARLY BRITISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIAN CULTURE

DECAY OF INDIA'S CLASSICAL LANGUAGES

The period 1773-1818 was one of political consolidations on the part of the British power, and the establishment of its supremacy over the whole peninsula. Its interest is mainly political, and its chief feature is the territorial expansion of the East India Company. But it also saw cultural revolutions of the most important kind. The new set of conditions sharply differentiated the Hindus from the Muslims. It turned the attention of both away from their classical traditions, which had on the whole tended to the unity of each of these communities within itself, and had, as between the two communities, evolved a *modus vivendi* through seven centuries of contact and conflict. It depressed the position of the older and more traditional kind of leaders in Indian society, and encouraged the rise, economic and cultural, of newer classes more amenable to British influence, and more docile to its suggestions.

LINGUA FRANCA IN INDIA AT DIFFERENT PERIODS

The vernaculars gradually stepped up into a literary position, and divided the people by barriers that neither Hindu nor Muslim India had experienced before in the same degree. Shankar Acharya in the eighth century had found no linguistic difficulty in traversing India, south and north, east and west. His four Lodges or Maths upheld his philosophical banner in Sringeri (in the modern Mysore State) in the south, and in Badrinath in the Himalayas in the north; in Puri on the east coast, and Dwarka on the west. The Muslim saint, Khwaja Bande Nawaz Gesu-Daraz, of the fourteenth century, was born in Delhi, travelled and preached all over the country, and lies buried in Gulbarga in the Nizam's Dominions. In the Mughal period the Persian language was the universal polite language in India, and carried Muslims and Hindus who came within Muslim cultural influence through the length and breadth of the land. The new development of the vernaculars as media of prose and of business gradually confined the universal classical languages to specialised men of learning, and a linguistic division among the people began to be more and more marked among the thinking classes. The process was analogous in some respects to the gradual dethronement of Latin and the rise of the modern vernaculars in Europe in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. In Europe it gave rise to the differentiation of nationalities as against the dreams of a universal Church or a universal Empire. In India the process took a different turn. While many of the vernaculars have grown and gathered strength, they could not compete with English, the language of the new rulers. We shall return to this subject in speaking of English education (Chapter 5). We may remark, however, that in India the use of a common language for educated people has not only been an ideal and an aspiration. It has always been a reality. Sanskrit, Persian, Hindustani (in a limited way), and now English bear witness to the fact.

MEN OF CULTURE FROM EUROPE

Previous to 1774 there had been no British men of culture in effective power in India. As early as 1615-18 Sir Thomas Roe, with the culture of Oxford and the prestige of a member of Parliament, had come to Jahangir's Court as an ambassador from James I of England. But he, and his chaplain the Rev. Edward Terry, carried about them an atmosphere quite different from that of the adventurers, or the merchants and clerks in the warehouses and offices of the East India Company, and they were only three years in India. Other European nations had sent out some highly cultured men to India. The Portuguese had their Jesuit priests constantly residing in Goa. The French had sent out their philosopher François Bernier, a doctor of medicine in the University of Montpellier, and a disciple of the famous philosopher Gassendi. He was in Delhi for five or six years from 1659, and discoursed with the noblemen of Aurangzib's Court on Persian Literature and the works of the famous French philosopher Descartes, and with the Hindu Pandits on Hindu learning, religion, and institutions. The Danes had sent out to Tranquebar, the first Protestant Missionaries in India in 1706. They were interested in the culture of Southern India and contributed to its study. Dr. Fryer and other surgeons of the East India Company, and Robert Orme, born in Malabar in 1728, the son of a Company's surgeon, are no exceptions. The surgeons were mostly interested in their professional duties, and Orme was more interested in current history than in Indian culture.

BRITISH MEN OF CULTURE: WARREN HASTINGS

The period inaugurated by the Regulating Act, 1774, brought into power men who had the capacity, the healthy mental curiosity, and the inclination, to study the culture of India. Foremost among these must be named Warren Hastings. He was a Westminster boy. Among his famous contemporaries at school were: the Earl of Shelborne, afterwards the first Marquess Lansdowne, who was Prime Minister of England in 1782; the gentle poet Cowper, philanthropist and friend of slaves and under-dogs; the brilliant satirist Churchill, who jumped suddenly from poverty into high life, and illustrates in some sense the tone and temper of English life, in morals and manners, politics and journalism, in the latter half of the 18th century, so monstrously reflected in contemporary English society in India; and Sir Elijah Impey, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in India, whose intimacy with Warren Hastings lasted through life, and whose trial and sentence of Nand Kumar is an episode in early British history, which, though it has been defended by able jurists on technical grounds, stands as a blot on the first attempts of the British to deal justice in India. From his Public School, Hastings passed on to the service of the East India Company in India. In Bengal and Madras he learnt with patient industry all the details of Indian life and business. During a visit to England on leave he became personally acquainted with Dr. Samuel Johnson, the literary dictator of London, and Lord Mansfield the judge, whose interest in comparative law enriched the law of England with many modern ideas, and who in his decisions systematised English commercial law and brought it to the foremost place in the world. With Sir Joshua Reynolds, the fashionable portrait-painter and leader of cultured society in London, Warren Hastings had friendly relations before, during, and after his Governor-Generalship.

HIS ENTHUSIASM FOR INDIAN CULTURE

Hastings' early associations and later friendships have an important bearing on the early cultural developments of British India. His sympathy with the mind of India and his insight into the ways of Oriental thought made him a patron of Oriental learning. Such was his appreciation of Muslim learning as he found it in India that he conceived the idea that the cultivation of Persian might be made a part of the liberal education of an Englishman through the University of Oxford.* His taste in art and the refinements of western life brought to India some fine western painters and some portraits painted by western artists. His interest in Indian law, Hindu and Muslim, may also be called an enthusiasm. On it was built up that study of Hindu and Muslim law by western scholars and that codification and modern interpretation, which have done something to rescue our systems from archaism, though their arrested development has not been prevented by a cast-iron system, out of touch with the changing conditions of the last two centuries. Let us examine these three influences, learning, arts, and law, a little more closely.

ITS INFLUENCE ON INDIAN MINDS

A number of Oriental works, produced during the period of Warren Hastings' power were dedicated to him. They were mostly in Persian or Sanskrit, as the vernaculars had not yet developed prose literature of any great importance. Some of them show how the new influence was already working on the Eastern mind. For example, the *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhkherin*, written by Saiyid Gulam Husain Khan Tabatabai in 1783, describes contemporary history in a spirit of friendly but independent criticism which is honourable to the writer and to Warren Hastings for whom it was written. He discusses the causes for the diminution of the revenue and the population of Bengal in the early days of British rule. His comments are so interesting that we may refer to them in some detail.

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* See Macaulay's Essays (Warren Hastings) London 1852, p.593.

GULAM HUSAIN KHAN'S CRITICISM

The British, when they first acquired power in India, found no racial feeling against them. On the other hand, according to Saiyid Ghulam Husain Khan, one of the causes of their early failures in government was the racial aversion shown by them to the Indians. This complaint of the Saiyid is confirmed by the insolent references to our institutions, manners, and customs, and to our very character in many contemporary English writings. Secondly, wrote the Saiyid, the new rulers were so ignorant of the customs and usages of India and of the spirit of her institutions, that the Indians whom they appointed to offices brought discredit on their system. For instance, under the pre-British Muslim law, the Qazis had to be men of learning and dignity. In the Saiyid's day the offices were leased and under-leased, and became merely means of private enrichment. They were formerly remunerated with salaries and Jagirs. No fees were charged to litigants. Formerly there was a court officer called the *Darogha Adalat* to relieve poor defenceless people who could not reach the Emperor or his Ministers. He sat from day-break to three in the afternoon. If he could not decide a case by consent of the parties, he made up a statement (*Sūrat hāl*, case stated), for the Emperor or his Ministers, who sat twice a week. Under the new conditions the men appointed to the offices of *Darogha* and *Faujdar* were so worthless and venal that the Saiyid "thanks God" these offices were transferred to the English. Evidently, in the Saiyid's opinion, the new foreign system had demoralised the Indian officials.

UNDER TWELVE COUNTS

The criticism runs on to twelve counts. Two have been detailed above. The remainder are as follows:—(3) There were endless changes in posts of trust and importance. (4) The proceedings of the Governor-General's Council were slow and protracted. (5) The new rulers did not set apart stated times regularly for giving audience and hearing grievances of individuals.

(6) They took away the trade of the country and left little livelihood to the natives of the country. (7) The Zamindars were given exorbitant powers, which they used in order to oppress their subjects and tenants. (8) The Governor-General and his Council were so congested with other business that they could not give speedy decisions in appeals or complaints made to them by individuals. (9) The rule of seniority in promotion to offices detracted from efficiency. This apparently referred to the higher British officers of the Company. (10) The British were partial not only to their own people but to their meanest dependent. (11) The rules of procedure of the Supreme Court at Calcutta worked prejudicially against the poor and ignorant. (12) The British decided in private what ought to be decided in open *darbar* before all the people.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE BRITISH

This kind of criticism throws light on the contemporary view of an enlightened Indian on the new administration. There is no subservience; there is no prejudice; there is a fair desire to arrive at a balanced judgment; there is certainly no eagerness to welcome the new system as a heaven-sent gift, though there is a disposition to take it as an accepted fact and make the best of it. And it will be noticed that the Saiyid nowhere draws a line between Hindus and Muslims. From anything that we can gather from his pleading, Bengal in his day might have been a unified country. In fact the Hindus and the Muslims had been played off against each other before and were to be played off against each other frequently later, but the better class of mind could still view questions from a higher standpoint.

THREE BRITISH SCHOLARS

Hasting's inspiration to his own countrymen in India to study Eastern learning has had remarkable and far-reaching results. The three men whom we may mention in this connection for pure scholarship were Wilkins, Halhed, and Sir William Jones. For law we shall have to mention Halhed and Sir William Jones again later.

Incomparably the greatest of these was Sir William Jones, but it would be convenient to follow the stages of the work of scholarship as it was done in India.

CHARLES WILLIAM, FATHER OF INDIAN PRINTING

Mr. Charles Wilkins (afterwards Sir Charles) (1750-1836) left India in 1786. Though he continued his work in Oriental scholarship for half a century after he left India, his pioneer work was done in India, and it prepared the way for the development of the work of British Orientalists in India. He came out quite young (say about 1768), without any pretensions to scholarship, eastern or western. But in the factory at Malda he learnt Persian, then the Court language, and also Bengali, the language popularly spoken in Bengal, and later he studied Sanskrit. Persian and Hindustani, Bengali and Sanskrit were the usual languages studied in Bengal by scholarly servants of the East India Company. Wilkins was the father of printing in India, for he invented and cast printing types for Persian and Bengali characters. This must have been before 1778, for Halhed's Sanskrit Grammar was printed with this type in that year in Hugli. This is what Halhed says in his Preface: "The advice and even solicitation of the Governor-General" (Warren Hastings) "prevailed upon Mr. Wilkins, a gentleman who has been many years in the India Company's Civil Service in Bengal, to undertake a set of Bengal types. He did, and his success has exceeded every expectation. In a country so remote from all connection with European artists, he has been obliged to charge himself with all the various occupations of the metallurgist, the engraver, the founder, and the printer; to the merit of invention he was compelled to add the application of personal labour. With a rapidity unknown in Europe, he surmounted all the obstacles which necessarily clog the first rudiments of a difficult art, as well as the disadvantages of a solitary experiment; and has thus singly, on the first effort, exhibited his work in a state of perfection which in every part of the world has appeared to require the united improvements of different projectors, and the gradual polish of successive ages."

PERSIAN-URDU TYPE

Wilkins's Persian type was the progenitor of the Persian and Urdu type used in early printing in India at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. It must be noted that type-printing for these languages preceded lithographic printing. Not only was this type or its descendants used in the official printing of laws and regulations and in the works turned out by the Fort William College in Calcutta (established in 1800), and Haileybury College in England (established in 1805), but also in the great mass of so-called Wahhabi literature printed in Urdu about 1820-1837) in connection with the movement headed by Saiyid Ahmad of Bareli and Karamat Ali. But the Muslims preferred caligraphy to convenience even in their printing, and instead of developing type-printing and making such modifications in their letters as would cheapen their type-printing, they have taken to lithography and continued to print by that process, although it is dearer and less accurate in the mass production of books. It may be added that Arabic moveable type was used in printing in Europe as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century. *

TYPE FOR SANSKRIT, BENGALI, AND OTHER VERNACULARS: TRANSLATIONS FROM SANSKRIT

Type-printing in Bengali got thoroughly established, and led the way for type in other Hindu languages. For the printing of Sanskrit the Nagari type is more appropriate, and Wilkins cast that form of type in England somewhere about 1787. For Wilkins was by now an

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* The earliest Arabic printed book (moveable types) which I have seen is in the British Museum Library (c.52 b.17). It is the *Kitāb Salāt al-sāwaī* containing Roman Catholic prayers for the canonical hours by day and night, printed in Italy, under the patronage of Pope Leo X, by Gregorius in 1514, with a Latin dedication to the Pope. It was printed for the use of Syrian Christians whose language is Arabic. It is referred to in Schuurrer's Bibliotheca Arabica, p.231, I believe that Arabic printing with wooden blocks was practised earlier in Europe and possibly in Egypt, but I have not been able to verify this in my stuty of a prolonged search. I have seen several specimens of Arabic Christian literature printed from wooden blocks, subsequent to the date of Gregorius's book. Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, in his *History of Bengali Literature* (p. 849), refers to a Bengali book printed from wooden blocks somewhere about 1711. I am indebted to Mr. A. S. Fulton of the British Museum, for help in the study of early Arabic typography.

accomplished Sanskrit scholar. His English translation of the *Bhagavad Gita* was warmly commended by Warren Hastings, who persuaded the Directors of the East India Company to publish it in London in 1785. His translation of the *Hitopadesha* followed about 1787. This gave English and European readers direct access to the rich store-house of fable literature which had already reached them in a diffuse form through Muslims from their popular versions known as *Kalīla wa Dimma.*

STUDY OF INSCRIPTIONS

Besides casting Oriental type and translating Oriental works, Wilkins was among the first to investigate Indian inscriptions scientifically. He translated a Monghyr copper-plate grant in 1781 and soon afterwards an inscription on a stone pillar from the Dinajpur District. Both these were records of the Pala dynasty of Bengal (750-1200), whose art has been more recently studied, showing a gradual transition from Buddhism to the Tantric ideas so prevalent in Bengal.

HALHED: UNITY OF ARYAN LANGUAGES

Very different from Wilkins in his antecedents was Nathaniel Brassey Halhed (1751-1830), who had been educated at Harrow (Public School) and Christ Church College, Oxford University. His Sanskrit Grammar (1778) has already been mentioned. Like Alexander Dow before him, who published a free translation of Ferishta's Persian History in 1768, he prefixed an enthusiastic Preface to his work. It is to Halhed's credit that his study of Sanskrit led him to anticipate the unity of the Aryan languages. "I have been astonished to find," he says "the similitude of Sanskrit words with those of Persian and Arabic, and even of Latin and Greek; and these not in technical and metaphorical terms...but in the main ground work of the language." His inclusion of Arabic in this unity may be excused, as the laws of comparative philology had not yet been worked out. But his discovery that Persian, the polite language of the Muslims, Sanskrit, the polite language of the Hindus, and Latin and Greek, the classical languages of Europe, had undoubted affinities, cleared the way for the co-operation of these three groups of people for a cultural understanding.

A RAJA AS AN ANTIQUARIAN

Halhed mentions a certain Raja of Kishnagar as "by much the most learned and able antiquary which Bengal has produced within this century." Though the claim made on his behalf in deriving the culture of ancient Egypt from India may appear extravagant, it was a gain that the comparative study of the culture of different nations was leading to an idea of the cultural unity of civilisation, which appealed so strongly to the thinking minds of the West in that Age.

SIR WILLIAM JONES, GREAT STUDENT OF EASTERN CULTURE

When we come to Sir William Jones (1746-1794), we come to the most wonderful personality in the galaxy of Englishmen who revived and organised the study of Oriental languages and literatures on modern lines. He was born in Wales. His father had been a mathematician, a disciple and friend of Newton. Already, at school (Harrow) and university (Oxford), he had mastered Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, French, Spanish and Italian. He was also conversant with German and Portuguese, Turkish, and Chinese. At the age of 24 he translated the History of Nadir Shah from Persian into French, neither of which was his own language. Travelling through France, he was presented to the French King, and the epigram was current in the French Court that he knew every language in the world but his own (Welsh). But he was not merely a linguist. He studied the physical sciences and the literatures of Asia. He was equally proficient in law, for he was sent out to India as a Judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta in 1783. In India he mastered Sanskrit. He died in Calcutta in 1794.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

During his crowded eleven years in India he compassed almost the whole field of Oriental learning. In his very first year in India he founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal, "for inquiring into the history, civil and natural, the antiquities, arts, sciences, and literatures of Asia." He was its first President. The Society was from the beginning under the patronage of Government, and the Presidentship was offered to the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, but he declined it in favour of Sir William Jones. In his first Presidential address (1784) he spoke as follows.

SIR WILLIAM JONES'S DREAM OF THE EAST

"When I was at sea last August, on my voyage to this country, which I had long and ardently desired to visit, I found, one evening, on inspecting the observations of the day, that India lay before us, and Persia on our left, whilst a breeze from Arabia blew nearly on our stern. A situation so pleasing in itself and to me so new, could not fail to awaken a train of reflections in a mind, which had early been accustomed to contemplate with delight the eventful histories and agreeable fictions of this eastern world. It gave me inexpressible pleasure to find myself in the midst of so noble an amphitheatre, almost encircled by the vast regions of Asia, which has ever been esteemed the nurse of sciences, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions, of men. I could not help remarking how important and extensive a field was yet unexplored, and how many solid advantages unimproved; and when I considered, with pain, that in this fluctuating, imperfect, and limited condition of life, such inquiries and improvements could only be made by the united efforts of many, who are not easily brought, without pressing inducement or strong impulse, to converge in a common point, I consoled myself with the hope, founded on opinions which it might have the appearance of flattery to mention, that, if in any country or community, such an union could be effected, it was among my countrymen in Bengal, with some of whom I already had, and with most was desirous of having, the pleasure of being intimately acquainted."

FAR-REACHING RESULTS: EFFECTS IN INDIA

This was well expressed from the point of view of Englishmen in India. Such studies had far-reaching effects. Similar societies were founded in Bombay and Madras within a few years. In 1823 was founded in London the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Its founder was Henry Thomas Colebrooke, whom we shall presently mention as having worked in Calcutta. Its aim was expressed to be "the investigation of the sciences and arts of Asia, with the hope of facilitating ameliorations there and of advancing knowledge and improving the arts at home." The Latin motto of this Society is: *Quot rami tot arbores*: "as many trees as branches", referring to the emblem of the Indian banyan tree, whose branches reach the ground and strike roots, and become trees. The Royal Asiatic Society of London has become a bigger tree than its prototype of Bengal, and there are other Societies in Europe and America which may in a sense claim inspiration from the example set in Bengal. Through these early efforts, the gates of the enchanted land of the Orient were opened to the West, and in the great Romantic movements of western literatures we find echoes which themselves created a new East of the imagination. The tribute of Goethe (1749-1832) to Kalidas's genius in *Sakuntala* is well known. As translated into English by E. B. Eastwick, it runs as follows:—

> "Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms
> And the fruits of its decline,
> And all by which the soul is charmed,
> Enraptured, feasted, fed?
> Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself
> In one sole name combine?
> I name thee, O Sakuntala!
> And all at once is said." *

Ruckert (in 1821) tried to naturalise the *Ghazl* in German. Schlegel in 1808 wrote on the languages and wisdom of India (*Uber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier*). And in the middle of the nineteenth century

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* This version as well as the original German will be found at pp. xvi-xvii of "Sakoontala, translated by Sir Moniez Monier-Williams" London 1894.

Emerson, Thoreau, and the Transcendentalist school of America, popularised their version of Indian wisdom in the United States. Emerson's poem *Brahma* was written in 1855. On the other hand the most interesting of the waves which these impulses produced resulted in transforming the culture of our own land. When the methods and standards of scholarship of the West had permeated India, we produced men like Rajendra Lal Mitra in Bengal and Bhandarkar in Bombay, whose work we shall refer to in due time.

COMPREHENSIVE PLANS OF STUDY

Sir William Jones's chief merit was that he planned comprehensively and worked most assiduously at his plan. Many of his ideas in scholarship are now antiquated, and we may smile at his idea of the "superiority of European talent." But he judged from what he saw of our decadent society. He spoke of the East with great respect, and never let fly pointed darts of wit at our expense like Macaulay. His interest was not merely in scholarship as narrowly understood by the modern Orientalist societies. A programme which he sketched out and which was found among his papers after his death was referred to by Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) who succeeded Sir William Jones in the Presidentship of the Asiatic Society. It contains, besides suggestions relating to geography, history, language, and literature, the following items:—

2. A botanical description of Indian plants from the Koshas etc.
5. On the Ancient Music of the Indians.
6. On the medical substances of India, and the Indian art of medicine.
9. On ancient Indian geometry, astronomy, and algebra.
13. On the Indian constellations, with their mythology, from the Puranas.

Some progress has been made in these investigations since his day, but the field has by no means yet been exhausted.

COLEBROOKE: HIS INSIGHT INTO THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765-1837) was a younger man than the three we have already mentioned. He came out to India in the Company's Civil Service in 1782, and served till 1814. As he served for the first nine years as a revenue official in the Mufassal (Tirhut), he was remote from the great cultural movements that were taking shape in the capital at Calcutta under Warren Hasting's inspiration. On the other hand he got a deep insight into rural conditions, and his book on the agriculture of Bengal touches on the economic weak spots of early British rule. "To a government," he says, "enlightened as this is by which British India is administered, it cannot be a trifling consideration to provide employment for the poorest classes. No public provision now exists in these provinces to relieve the wants of the poor and helpless. The only employment in which widows and female orphans incapacitated for field labour by sickness or by their rank, can earn a subsistance, is by spinning, and it is the only employment to which females of the family can apply themselves to maintain the men, if these be disqualified for labour by infirmity or by any other cause. To all it is a resource which, even though it may not be absolutely necessary for the subsistance, contributed at least to relieve the distress of the poor. Their distresses are certainly great, and none greater than among the many decayed families which once enjoyed the comforts of life. These are numerous in India, and whether they be entitled to the particular consideration of Government or not, they have certainly a claim on its humanity."

IMPOVERISHMENT, AND DECAY OF ART AND CULTURE

This problem of unemployment has certainly been a skeleton in the cupboard in the history of the British administration. The early British days in Bengal were marked with fabulous fortunes that men like Clive took away from India. It was not the Company that was getting rich. It was its servants that preyed on the people. In those early days, Indian noblemen and soldiers, zamindars and ryots, men of letters and artisans, all suffered. A few Indians who lent themselves to the intrigues and treachery of the foreign clique, became men of note and fortune, and founded families. But like the new-rich in all countries and at all times, they were innocent of art and culture, and in running after the art and culture of their new masters, tended to degrade the art and culture of their own country. Later, came the day of the zamindars, and later still the day of the lawyers. The new families, in the course of two or three generations, became more responsive to their own country's inspiration, but by then other discontents had arisen and other causes for the depression of Indian culture. Remedial agencies also came into operation. But unemployment or impoverishment in some form or among some class or other, has always gnawed at the roots of British rule in India. With the rise of a more or less educated middle class towards the end of the nineteenth century, this question has come very much to the fore. Its close connection with cultural movements of all kinds cannot be questioned.

PROGRESS OF SANSKRIT STUDIES

Colebrooke's study of Sanskrit was fertile of results, and these are scattered over the volumes of the *Asiatic Researches.* He specialised in Sanskrit and thus started the tendency in the west to identify Indian culture with Hindu culture, to the neglect of the contribution made to Indian culture by the Muslims. He published accounts not only of the major schools of Hindu philosophy, but also of the minor though important sects like the Jains. He studied Hindu mathematics and astronomy as expounded in ancient Sanskrit works. His *Sanskrit Grammar* and his *Essay on the Vedas* (1805) established his reputation as the greatest Sanskrit scholar of his day, and his finest memorial is the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, which, as already stated, he founded in 1823.

THE LEGAL LORE OF INDIA

Let us now turn to the study of Indian Law. In a letter which Warren Hastings wrote to Lord Mansfield on the 21st March 1774 (printed in Keith's *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy*, Vol. I), he said:— "Among he various plans which have been lately formed for the improvement of the British interests in the provinces of

Bengal, the necessity of establishing a new form of judicature, and giving laws to people who were supposed to be governed by no other principle of justice than the arbitrary wills, or uninstructed judgments, of their temporary rulers, has been frequently suggested; and this opinion, I fear, has obtained the greater strength from some publications of considerable merit in which it is too positively asserted that written laws are totally unknown to the Hindoos, or original inhabitants of Hindostan. From whatever cause this notion has proceeded, nothing can be more foreign from truth. They have been in possession of laws, which have continued unchanged, from the remotest antiquity. The professors of these laws, who are spread over the whole empire of Hindostan, speak the same language, which is unknown to the rest of the people, and receive public endowments and benefactions from every state and people, besides a degree of personal respect amounting almost to idolatry, in return for the benefits which are supposed to be derived from their studies. The consequence of these professors has suffered little diminution from the introduction of the Muhammadan government, which has generally left their privileges untouched and suffered the people to remain in quiet possession of the institutes which time and religion had rendered familiar to their understandings and sacred to their affections."

HOW IT WAS FITTED INTO THE NEW INSTITUTIONS

Warren Hastings proceeds to argue that if they possessed these benefits under the Muslim government, they could not be refused a similar concession under a British and Christian government. It would be a grievance to deprive them of the protection of their own laws, but it would be wanton tyranny to require their obedience to others of which they were wholly ignorant. He then offered to the learned Judge in England a specimen of the laws themselves, explaining to him the system of two sets of courts, "one for the trial of crimes and offences (*faujdāri*) and the other to decide cases of property" (*māl*). The British reorganisation of judicial arrangements, he explains, did nothing more than re-establish the original principles.

CODE OF HINDU LAW

Ten of the most learned Pandits were invited to Calcutta from different parts of Bengal to form a compilation of Hindu laws with the best authority which could be obtained. The Pandits compiled the Code in Sanskrit. This was translated into Persian (the current court language) under the supervision of one of the Pandits. From the Persian translation was prepared the English translation, which was sent to Lord Mansfield. From the dates it would appear that this was a fragment of Halhed's translation, which was published complete in 1776 as the "Code of Gentoo Laws." As a translation from a translation this could not have been very satisfactory, and the translators themselves (both first and second) had very little accurate knowledge of comparative law. The task could only be completed (as far as such task could be completed at that stage) under the supervision of Sir William Jones and by Colebrooke, as was done later, (in Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law, 1791).

MUSLIM LAW

"With respect to Muhammadan law," says Warren Hastings in the same letter, "which is the guide at least to one-fourth of the natives of this province" (Bengal then included Bihar and Orissa), "your Lordship need not be told that this is as comprehensive, and as well defined, as that of most states in Europe, having been formed at a time in which the Arabians were in possession of all the real learning which existed in the western part of this continent. The book which bears the greatest authority among them in India is a digest formed by the command of the Emperor Aurangzib, and consists of four large folio volumes which are equal to near twelve of ours." This was the famous *Fatāwa-i-Alamgiri*, whose complete translation into English has never been accomplished. Portions of it have, however, been published by Mr. Neil Baillie between 1850 and 1865. A text-book, however, called the *Hedāya*, was given to James Anderson and Charles Hamilton to translate. It took them seventeen years, and was published in four quarto volumes in 1791 under the name of Hamilton's *Hedāya*. It was not very satisfactory. Originally in

Arabic, it was translated loosely into Persian, from which Hamilton made his English translation. The text and commentary are mixed up. But for the time being it served its purpose. The copy in the Bodleian Library at Oxford has a note inscribed on it by Edmund Burke: "There is great power of mind and a very subtle jurisprudence shown in this work."

STUDY OF COMPARATIVE LAW

Sir William Jones, on whom devolved the task of supervising this movement for making accessible in English some of the principles of Hindu and Muslim law, was, as we have seen, a man of many accompli·hments. He himself translated a book on the Muslim law of inheritance (the *Sirājiya*), and added a commentary. This branch of the law had not been touched in the *Hedāya*. Jones was more than a Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. As a jurist he had a matchless talent for comparative law. We may quote a celebrated historian's opinion of him as referred to in Sir John Shore's speech to the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1794), to which we have already referred: "He is perhaps the only lawyer equally conversant with the Year-books of Westminster, the Commentaries of Ulpian, the Attic pleadings of *Isaeus*, and the sentences of Arabian and Persian Quazis,"—in other words English, Roman, Greek, and Muslim law, to which might be added the very important item of Hindu law.

LAW AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The Hindu and Muslim Laws, thus placed in juxtaposition, were to apply to Indians only in a limited number of classes of suits, *viz.* those relating to succession, inheritance, marriage, caste, and religious usages and institutions. This last phrase is elastic and has been rendered more precise by subsequent legislation and judicial decisions; and the position of custom has been much discussed and investigated by the Courts. These early compilations have been liberally supplemented by studies from original sources prepared by jurists and text-book-writers as well as Hindu and Muslim judges of distinction. There was and is no official code of Hindu or Muslim law, enacted by the Legislature, like the Indian Penal Code or the Indian Contract Act of later generations. Such official codes have sometimes been advocated, but on the whole, and I think wisely, ruled out. It was supposed that British judges, bringing their own inherited ideas of jurisprudence, and yet provided in English with the basic notions of Hindu and Muslim law, might be able to build up a progressive system. Hastings had hoped that his work would help "towards the legal accomplishment of a new system which shall found the authority of the British government in Bengal on its ancient laws, and serve to point out the way to rule his people with ease and moderation according to their own ideas, manners, and prejudices." But gradually professional lawyers, in obtaining precision, sacrificed elasticity. In some cases, as in the law of Waqf, their interpretations of Muslim law went wide of the Muslims' own "ideas, manners, and prejudices" and has had to be corrected by legislation. A similar remark applied to the law of marriage. In many cases the adaptation of law to modern needs and conditions was prevented by a series of carefully recorded older decisions. It is just a question whether the ultimate result of this policy has not been to leave law far behind enlightened public opinion, and thus to hinder cultural growth in some directions.

CHAPTER III

MANNERS, MORALS AND ARTS

CHARACTERS AND MANNERS OF EARLY BRITISH DIGNITARIES IN INDIA

In the last chapter we saw the reaction of Indian conditions on the few men of British culture who were interested in India's culture. They were earnest students of literature, manners, and arts. But they were not representative of British society as a whole, either in Calcutta or in London. In England the general attitude was one of lofty superiority. The distant inhabitants of India were almost, in their view, barbarians. Burke's burning eloquence, and the tributes which he paid to Muslim and Hindu institutions in his impeachment of Warren Hastings, ran counter to the spirit of hero-worship which finally procured Warren Hasting's acquittal, and therefore made no impression on the British mind. In Calcutta itself the state of British society generally was so rotten that it called forth the severest condemnation from the British missionaries and the men who cared for religion and ethics as the foundations of British character. In the early days the British "nabobs" bore Indian titles and aped the worst of the Indian vices, which they found fashionable in a decadent society. Clive was *Sābit Jang* and *Saif Jang*. Mr. Watts, the Company's agent at Kasimbazar, was *Zubdat-ut-Tujjār*. His widow remarried and became Mrs. Johnson, but, as stated in Chapter I, was known as Begam Johnson. Both Englishmen and Englishwomen smoked the *huqqa*. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of 1808 the following advertisement appeared for the benefit of those who appreciated the luxuries of the East:—

"H. McKay respectfully begs leave to acquaint the Ladies and Gentlemen of the settlement that are partial to the Hookah, that he has prepared some essence, whose fragrant odour and fine flavour will add considerable zest to this luxury.—*Calcutta, the 24th February 1808.*"

MORALS, GAMBLING AND LOTTERIES

In gambling, hard drinking, loose sex morals, and duelling, British fashions in Calcutta went a good deal further than the fashions in London towards the end of the 18th century. Many Public Works were constructed out of the proceeds of public lotteries. Lottery Commissioners were officially recognised. In 1794 they advertised a lottery of 10,000 tickets at Rs. 32 each. Streets and churches were constructed out of these funds. The Town Hall was built and canals were constructed from lottery funds. It is to the credit of the Committee of the Native Hospital, which was mainly British, but under missionary influence, that they declined in 1793 to receive lottery money. The lotteries were under the patronage of the Governor-General from 1805 to 1817. In 1818 Chowringhee, the fashionable street of Calcutta, was watered under the care of the Lottery Committee, which took the place of the Lottery Commissioners from 1817. Not only was public money regularly raised by lotteries, but big dwelling houses were frequently raffled. The gambling spirit, though suppressed under the rule of Islam, goes back to a very old tradition in India. Yudhishthira, the hero of the *Mahabharata*, gambled away his all, including his wife, on the chances of dice. In the *Sutras* it would appear to have been one of the duties of the King to maintain a public gambling hall for the use of his subjects.*

ELEMENT OF SELF-RECUPERATION

With all that can be said in criticism of English society and Englishmen in India in that period, there was one feature that redeemed it from all its faults and weaknesses. It had within itself the element of self-recuperation. The individuals who lapsed from the best traditions of their nation had these traditions in their blood, and behind them, a strong vigorous nation to sit in judgment on them. If that judgment was sometimes severe, it yet kept individuals in check, and arrested any tendency to decay in a community cut off temporarily from the sources of its power, its strength, and its moral standards. For, whether in England or in India, the class that came to the front of the stage was not necessarily the class that formed the back-bone of the nation. Warren Hastings had been placed in positions of peculiar temptations and difficulties. Whatever criticisms may be levelled against his public policy, he never acted against the interests of his country and his nation. Whatever sufferings his policy may have led to in India, he had respect for the Indian people, and was the first and greatest among the British of his age to seek, foster, and preach a common understanding between India and England. The rancour by which he was assailed in his own Council did not deflect him from his path. His imagination saw clearly the strength and the weakness of India's position under British rule. In his Review of his own Administration written in 1785, he explained his idea of good government in India on very practical lines as follows.

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*Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p.237.

HASTINGS ON INDIAN CHARACTER

"The submissive character of the people; the fewness of their wants; the facility with which the soil and climate, unaided by exertions of labour, can supply them; the abundant resources of subsistence and trafficable wealth which may be drawn from the natural productions, and from the manufactures, both of established usage and of new introduction, to which no men on earth can bend their minds with a readier accommodation; and above all, the defences with which nature has armed the land, in its mountainous and hilly borders, its bay, its innumerable intersections of rivers, against inoffensive or powerful neighbours, are advantages which no united state upon earth possesses in an equal degree; and which leave little to the duty of the Magistrate, in effect, nothing but attention, protection, and forbearance."

CULTURAL DREAM OF SIR WILLIAM JONES

The men who followed Warren Hastings in the Governor-Generalship were usually fresh from England, with strong political influence at home at their back, and raised, among their colleagues in India, above the constant drag of opposition and envy. And yet none in that long line of eminent men has done more than Warren Hastings for the cultural advance of India. And there were men serving in India among his contemporaries who saw the cultural side of the British connection with India, and have left us the visions of their dreams in words that ring true and are good for all time. Sir William Jones closes the Preface to his translation of the *Sirājīya* in these words:

GOVERNMENT TO BE A MUTUAL BENEFIT AND BLESSING

"I have seen enough of these Provinces and their inhabitants, to be convinced, that, if we hope to make our government a blessing to them and a durable benefit to ourselves, we must realise our hope, not by wringing for the present the largest possible revenue from our Asiatic subjects, but by taking no more of their wealth than the public exigencies, and their own security, may actually require; not by diminishing the interest, which landlords must naturally take in their own soil, but by augmenting it to the utmost, and giving them assurance, that it will descend to their heirs; when their laws of property, which they literally hold sacred, shall in practice be secured to them; when the land-tax shall be so moderate, that they cannot have a colourable pretence to rack their tenants, and then they shall have a well-grounded confidence, that the proportion of it will never be raised, except for a time on some great emergency, which may endanger all they possess; when either the performance of every legal contract shall be enforced, or a certain and adequate compensation be given for the breach of it; when no wrong shall remain unredressed, and when redress shall be obtained at little expense, and with all the speed that may be consistent with necessary deliberation; then will the population and resources of Bengal and Bihar continually increase, and our nation will have the glory of conferring happiness on considerably more than twenty-four millions* (which is at least the present number) of their native inhabitants, whose cheerful industry will enrich their benefactors, and whose firm attachment will secure the permanence of our dominion."

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*William Tennant's conjecture for the population was between 22 and 23 millions in 1803 (Indian Recreations, II.2-3).

HORIZON TO BE WIDENED

This dream of Sir William Jones discloses a wider horizon than that of Warren Hastings. The horizon has widened still further, with succeeding generations of British and Indians. But it is well to note these early landmarks, because they are apt to be forgotten.

EARLY COURTS OF LAW

Much stress is laid by some writers on the new Courts of Law and the new spirit of justice established under British rule. But there is another side to the question. True, the living jurisprudence of every progressive country must necessarily bring increased security to the people and enlarged opportunities of social development. Unfortunately the extravagant laudation of British Courts in India is hardly justified, at least in the early stages. It is a question whether substantive English Law in those days was in advance of the law administered in the Mughal Courts. The venality and inefficiency charged against Mughal Courts was only a feature of the general loss of control that characterised the period of anarchy. The new British procedure was far more complicated and far less calculated to favour justice than the simple Mughal procedure, with easy access to rulers of every grade, including the Emperor himself.

DRASTIC AND UNEQUAL PUNISHMENTS

The celebrated Fifth Report, made by the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 28th July 1812, is of great value for the period we are considering. We may note three examples of punishments meted out by the Mayor's Court in Calcutta prior to the establishment of the Supreme Court in 1774:

(1) 30th November 1762: case of assault: To be flogged at the Cart's Tail every Monday for a month with a cat of nine tails;

(2) 1st September 1763: Burglary: punished with death.

(3) 27th February 1765: Forgery, punishable with death: but pardoned.

This last case may be compared with the celebrated case of Maharaja Nand Kumar, who had been, under the East India Company, Collector of Burdwan, Nadia, and Hugli, and later, Naib Subah of Bengal. He was convicted of forgery in the Supreme Court, and sentenced to death, and hanged in August 1775. There were political considerations involved in it, and it is clear that forgery was punished very differently in different cases.

SUPREME COURT'S SENTENCES

Let us take three other cases in which sentences were passed by the Supreme Court on Thursday the 18th December 1806, as reported in the *Calcutta Gazette*:—

(1). Alexander Moore, soldier, killed another soldier in a duel in Muttra; sentenced for manslaughter to be imprisoned for one year and to pay a fine of twenty rupees, or to be further imprisoned.

(2). James Dempsey, soldier, killed another in boxing, in Allahabad; sentenced for manslaughter to be imprisoned for one week, and to pay a fine of one rupee.

(3). Lieutenant Charles Ryan, killed another officer in a duel at Cawnpore: sentenced for manslaughter to pay a fine of one hundred rupees and imprisoned for one month.

COURTS AS DEMORALISING AGENCIES

We have seen in the last chapter that Saiyid Ghulām Husain Khan, author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutaakherin* (1783) was not much impressed with the new Courts, either in their personnel or in their procedure. In the Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons (1812) to which we have already referred, there is abundant evidence that the Company's British servants, judges as well as administrators, were far from satisfied with the results of British Courts. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Strachey, a Judge of Circuit, in answer to Interrogatories, draws a distressing picture. "The people," he says, "are probably somewhat more licentious than formerly. Chicanery, subordination, fraud and perjury, are certainly more common. Drunkenness, prostitution, indecorum, profligacy of manners, must increase, under a system which, although it professes to administer the Muhammadan Law, does not punish those immoralities." Elsewhere he remarks "I beg leave here to offer it as my opinion that little morality is learnt in any court of justice. In Calcutta, I have reason to believe the morals of the people are worse by means of the system established by us. Nor do I attribute this solely to the size, population, and indiscriminate society of the capital, but in part to the Supreme Court. I scarcely ever knew a Native connected with the Supreme Court, whose morals and manners were not contaminated by that connection."

POLICE AND LAW COURTS: CONDITIONS OF THEIR EFFICIENCY

Mr. James Mill, in his History of British India (Book VI, Chapter 6), discusses this subject with reference to the Fifth Committee's Report. He remarks: "The temper and practice of the Courts of Justice are enumerated among the causes of the prevalence of crime; the Courts of Justice are represented as so immoral, that they infuse a deeper strain of depravity into the Indian character; and corrupt, beyond their usual pitch of wickedness, the natives who approach them. An imputation more expressive of the interior depravity of Courts of Justice, cannot easily be conceived... That any tribunal, however, which guides unhappy suitors through a maze of wretched ceremonies and forms, should be other than a den of chicane, that is, of fraud, and the chief of all seminaries of the fraudulent arts, is not very possible. That such are the Courts of Justice in India, and above all the Supreme Court, the Court of English law, is indubitably proved." There is exaggeration in this sweeping statement, which is hardly justified by the tenor of the Fifth Report (Appendix X) read as a whole. But the evils referred to existed, and we must recognise them even now, after a century and a quarter, as inherent in the peculiar circumstances of India. But we must also recognise the merits of the new system: the law was gradually modernised; the Courts were progressively improved and rendered independent; a more vigilant and learned Bar was established; and the tribunals became more and more impersonal. The severe strictures on the police system in the Fifth Report by the Secretary to Government (Mr. Doweeswell) were no doubt justified then, and are partly justified now, but we must remember that the police and the law courts react on each other, and they are both conditioned by the education of the people in good citizenship and the mutual confidence that may exist (or not exist) between the people and the State.

REASONS FOR LURID PICTURES OF INDIAN MORALS

In these circumstances we cannot wonder at the lurid pictures of Indian manners and morals, sincerely drawn by men who came into contact with criminal or litigious classes, chiefly through the law courts or in their intercourse with the degenerate governing classes in the dirty game of politics. The picture was even more lurid as drawn by the Missionaries, for three reasons. In the first place they came with a bias against non-Christian religions, which made them see things in a false light. In the second place, their contact was mainly with the most submerged classes in India, and they transferred the picture of what they saw to the whole of the people of India, who were all included under the ban of heathens "who dwell in darkness." In the third place, they were influenced and they were used for political purposes, even if they were non-British Europeans, by the new political power, as in their turn they influenced the more earnest spirits among the servants of the East India Company in India and among those who framed its policy in England. The German missionary Schwartz was sent by the Madras Government in 1779 to spy out the intentions of Haidar Ali in Seringapatam. The French missionary the Abbé Dubois was used by Colonel Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, to reconvert to Christianity in 1800 those who had become Muslims under Tippu Sultan. The manuscript of his book on Hindu Manners was purchased by the Madras Government in 1807, and the transaction was reported to the Court of Directors as "an arrangement of great public importance." That remarkable Scotsman, Charles Grant, (1746-1823), whose religious bent (he was a member of the Clapham sect) and pertinacity have left such a deep impression on the early cultural history of British India, was very much influenced by the missionary Schwartz. Grant's contact with India was in four capacities. From 1767-1771 he was engaged in private trade in Bengal. From 1772-1790 he was a noted and influential servant of the Company and strongly supported the missionaries. On his return to England he influenced Indian policy in the Court of Directors. And as a Member of Parliament he had a more effective influence on British public opinion and British policy.

WHAT OFFICIALS AND MISSIONARIES SAW

Grant's "Observations on the State of Society, among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain," 1792, contain some of the most scathing denunciations of the morals and character of the people. According to him, the people were exceedingly depraved, and even among them the natives of Bengal ranked low. They lacked truth, honesty, and good faith, and made even no pretence to the possession of these virtues. One, Ibrahim Ali Khan, of Benares, was a man of probity, but he was exceptional. As a whole, the people were selfish, dastardly, and cruel. They did not even love their children, for they sold them in scarcity and did not recover them after the scarcity was past. We wonder if Mr. Grant enquired whether the parents themselves outlived the terrible famines. The good Abbé Dubois, who made a most elaborate study of the manners and morals of the Hindus, could see no hope for them. "They will continue," he says, "to grovel in poverty as long as their physical and intellectual faculties continue in the same groove." It would be necessary to undermine the foundations of their civilisation, religion, and polity, and turn them into atheists and barbarians before they could be given new laws and a new religion. But even then the good Abbé did not feel confident. He and his people would have to give them new natures and different inclinations. Otherwise their last state might be worse than their first. We may laugh at such pessimism, and wonder that any efforts, political, social, or religious, could be undertaken by people who accepted such views. For they were gloomy not only as to the facts, but as to the whole outlook for the future. Fortunately the Serampur missionaries, and the Clapham sect itself adopted in practice methods inconsistent with such views, and contributed their share to the advance of Indian education.

WHAT UNBIASED MEN OF CULTURE SAW

Men who came from England, without official or missionary bias, drew a different picture. Thomas Twining was in Madras in 1792. He served the East India Company in Bengal for some years, and has left us a book of his experiences. Speaking of Indians of inferior station, he says: "I did not indeed expect to find a resemblance to the grotesque representations which I had seen on the London stage; but neither was I prepared for a total absence of all barbarity and coarseness, for complexions which had nothing repulsive, for features and limbs as delicate as those of women, and manners as gentle." He describes the Company's Botanical Garden in Madras, and waxes eloquent over its fruits so new to him,—"the refreshing pummel-rose (pomeloss?)..., the strong jack-fruit, the delicate papaw, the luscious custard-apple, the delicious and abundant mango in its choicest varieties, the Chinese lichi, and the loquat, another fruit of China, grateful to the eye and taste." The bananas were so new to him that he thought they were sausages. He was in Delhi in November and December 1794. He found the city well-peopled but not crowded. The inhabitants had a lofty military air. Their behaviour was perfectly civil, and he was not subjected to any vulgar stare. The Nawab who received him on behalf of the Mughal Emperor ("Sind Razy Khan"—Sayid Raza Khan?) was a man of superior intelligence, and had the polished and dignified manners of his high rank. The attendants carried shields and Talwars (swords), but not matchlocks, on visits of ceremony.

THE DELHI COURT

He was presented to the Emperor. The Khil'at (robe of honour) which he received was a splendid robe of muslin embroidered with gold. There were golden sandals to match, and a turban of fine gold muslin. A scarf of white muslin, worked with gold, and ending with deep fringes of gold, was worn over the shoulders, right down to the ground. Another long piece of muslin was wound round the waist like a girdle over the robe and under the scarf. He presented a *Nazar* of five gold Mohurs, equivalent to about £8 sterling. His Munshi received a handsome green shawl. As equivalent to an invitation to dinner, he received this Farman: "Your feast will be supplied from the Presence."

HINDU AND MUSLIM DRESS

This interesting description of Court dress tallies with the portraits which we have of the period. Hindu and Muslim noblemen wore a similar kind of ceremonial dress, not only in Delhi, but in the outlying parts of what was still in theory the Mughal Empire. We may compare the portrait of Siraj-ud-Daula (S. C. Hill's Bengal in 1756-7, I. xliv.) with the portrait of Maharaja Nub Kissen Bahadur, founder of the Sovabazar family, for whom Clive got the title of Maharaja and the *Mansab* of 6,000 from the Emperor Shah Alam in 1766 (*vide* Mr. N. N. Ghose's Memoirs of that Nobleman). Contemporary portraits of the Arcot family and the Hyderabad family show similar features.

THEIR RESPECT FOR EACH OTHER

The relations between the Hindus and Muslims were still charactised by mutual respect. T. D. Broughton, in his *Letters from a Mahratta Camp*, 1809, (p. 51) draws a pleasing picture of what he saw as Resident in Sindhia's court and camp. The Marathas, he remarks, observed the Muharram festival with some solemnity. When the Holi festival fell concurrently with the Muharram, as it did in February 1809, they abstained from *nautch*, which was one of the incidents of Holi. Every one, including the Maharaja himself, dressed like a Faqir in the Muharram colours of green and red, and visited the *Tazias*.

PRESTIGE OF MUGHAL EMPIRE

The prestige of the Mughal Empire was still very great all over India, in the minds of both Hindus and Muslims. Sindhia was still in theory the agent of the Peshwa, who himself was the *Vakil-i-Mutlaq* (or agent plenipotentiary of the Mughal Empire.) When the Nizam was deserted by his British allies in 1795, and his army surrendered to the Marathas at Kharda without practically striking a blow, it was no cause of congratulation to the Maratha leaders. It made the young Peshwa sad, and he remarked to his minister Nana Farnavis: "I grieve to observe such degeneracy as there must be on both sides, when such a disgraceful submission has been made by the Mughals, and our own soldiers are vaunting of a victory obtained without an effort." (MacDonald's Memoir of Nana Farnavis, p.99). In 1813, the British were surprised when, against their advice and persuasion, Tamburetty, Princess of Travancore, insisted on applying for a dress of investiture for her son the infant Raja from the Mughal Emperor, although her State had never been directly under Mughal rule, and the Emperor was then only a phantom figure (Hamilton's Hindostan I.423).

AN ARTIST'S ACCOUNT

The observations of an artist, a British traveller, are of particular interest to us, because he carefully noted points of cultural interest and illustrated them with engravings prepared from drawings made on the spot. William Hodges was in India from 1780 to 1783. He had exhibited pictures in the Royal Academy before he went out to India, and became a member of the Royal Academy in 1789. He studied the ancient Monuments of India, and also published a book of travels. As an artist, he was quick to note the small and delicate hands of Indians; the gripe of Indian sabres was too small for European hands, at least in the Southern Presidency. The ordinary dress of the country was a long muslin *jama*, worn by both Hindus and Muslims. Calcutta was a long city on the river-bank without much breadth. It extended from the western point of Fort William (it must have been the new Fort finished in 1773) to Cossipore, about 4½ miles. Thus Calcutta from north to south has extended very little, for Alipore and Garden Reach are still suburbs. The conveyances in ordinary use were coaches (like those in London), phaetons, single-horse chaises (two-wheeled), palankins and hackeries (*chhakras*). He notes that the first house in Calcutta with architectural pretensions was erected by Warren Hastings. This still remains as Hastings House in Alipore, and illustrates the style of the period.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS: VILLAGE LIFE

In Katra, Murshidabad, he notes a public Muslim seminary in ruins. The architectural scheme was so characteristic that we may note some details. It was in a large square, each side about 70 feet. The cloisters were divided into single rooms crowned with a dome and lighted by a window. The centre of the opposite side was occupied by a Mosque. Near Bhagalpur he saw a cloth weaver at his loom. In the cool shade of the banyan tree he plied his trade, with a friend playing music by his side. Such scenes, he remarks, represented "the happy times of the Mughal government," before the country was devastated by anarchy. He found the villages clean, the streets were swept and watered, and sand strewn before the doors of houses. He was struck by the simplicity and the model character of the women.

PAINTERS FROM ENGLAND

We are grateful to this artist for a peep into a side of life which the merchants and officials of Calcutta knew very little about. More than one distinguished painter from the West visited India during this period. Zoffany was the best known among them. This versatile and international artist went to India to enrich himself. Many of his pictures were engraved by Richard Earlom, the celebrated mezzotint engraver. Zoffany was in India from 1783 to 1790. In his subjects he combined with dramatic skill the portraits of well-known characters with social and historical incidents. "Colonel Mordaunt's Cock-match" is a famous picture, in which the Lucknow Nawabs are pitted against English officers, arranging for a cock-fight. Engravings of this picture are much sought after in India. The "Tiger-hunt in the East Indies" depicts a hunting scene in all the grandeur of early British day. The Victoria Memorial at Calcutta contains several pictures by Zoffany, one of which, "Lord Cornwallis receiving the son of Tippu Sahib" must have been painted after Zoffany left India. A picture recently sold in Christie's Auction

Room in London (28th June 1929) depicts Zoffany (with his monkey) at an easel with an Indian landscape, Colonel Polier with his Indian cook, and Colonel Martin, the founder of the Martinière in Lucknow, showing the plans of his building, as held in the hands of an Indian servant. This was probably painted in a house in Calcutta in 1788.

VOGUE OF INDIA AMONG PAINTERS

There were other famous Western artists who used India for their brush. Thomas Hickey painted his well-known historical pictures at Seringapatam in 1799. Thomas Daniell and William Daniell, uncle and nephew, were in India from 1784 to 1794. They were both subsequently elected to the Royal Academy in London. Their *Oriental Scenery* in four large folios (1795, 1797, 1801 and 1807), afterwards reduced to an Octavo Part 5 (1815), and the series of Oriental Annuals inaugurated by William Daniell in five volumes in 1834-1838 and continued after William Daniell's death in 1838 (volumes for 1839 and 1840), furnish an illustrated and artistic commentary on the period, which is of some value to us. The vogue of this kind of literature in England may be understood by the fact that the 1835 volume was dedicated to the Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria (afterwards Queen Victoria), and the 1840 volume had sketches and notes by (among others) Captain Meadows Taylor, of the Nizam's service. In the earlier volumes the sketches were all by William Daniell, done during his residence in India. In the later volumes, there are sketches by other hands, and there is at least one, the portrait of Akbar Shah II (1806-1837), done by a "Persian painter," which means a Muslim painter in the Court of Delhi (Oriental Annual, 1840). A miniature picture in the Indian Museum at Calcutta is referred by Mr. Percy Brown to the end of the 18th Century, and probably to the Kangra *qalam*. It is a beautiful picture of a popular scene,—an upcountry party round a camp fire. It has a striking luminous effect, due to a wash of gold pigment on the paper before the drawing was made and the colours applied. (Indian Art and Letters IV, 1.14).

PORTRAIT PAINTING

The renowned English painter, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and his pupil, James Northcote, painted portraits that went out to India. Both these painters are represented in the collection in the Victoria Memorial Hall in Calcutta. These artists represented some of the highest work of the period in English portrait-painting, and their work may have had some influence on Indian artists. Of these we have no detailed account, though we know that Indian portrait-painters turned out excellent work in Delhi and Lucknow, and probably in Lahore and Calcutta. From the India Office Records* we learn that Admiral Sir Robert Harland brought (in 1772), as presents to the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam, Portraits of Their Britannic Majesties from England.

ARCHITECTURE

As in painting, so in architecture; the political conditions made it necessary that Indian art should be neglected and hide its diminished head, and English art should secure publicity and predominance, and the suffrages of fashion. But there were differences between the two arts. There was a flourishing school of vigorous portrait-painting in England, one which combined imagination with realism and a technique of great perfection, suitable for all countries and times. In architecture England was decidedly weak at the time, with the exception of the work of the brothers Adam. There were four brothers of that name, all architects. The most famous of them was Robert Adam (1728-1792), who built the Adelphi in London, by the Strand, overlooking the river Thames, besides numerous country houses for noblemen all over England. Alas, the Adelphi in London is rapidly disappearing, owing to the craze for huge modern blocks of buildings. Robert Adam also built Lord Scarsdale's seat, Kedleston Hall, in Derbyshire, which partly furnished the designs for the Government House in Calcutta, commenced by the Marquess Wellesley in 1799 and completed in 1804 at a cost of 13½ lakhs.* Its chief merit is in the decorations of the interior, the high flight of steps at the entrance, and a certain grandiose appearance from the outside, which was reflected in the private English residences built in Calcutta about that time, many of which survive round Chowringhee. The neighbouring Town Hall (Calcutta), built in 1804 by public subscriptions, mainly raised by lotteries, is in the Doric style of architecture, and cost seven lakhs of rupees. To continue the story further, we may mention three public buildings built much later, all adding to the architectural confusion of Calcutta, though each has individual merits of its own. The Anglican Cathedral on the Maidan, built in 1839-1847, is in a spurious Gothic style, and both in position and size, is quite unworthy of being the Cathedral of the Metropolitan of India. The High Court, built in 1872, is frankly in imitation of the Gothic Town Hall of Ypres, in Belgium, the town which is entitled to be called the Great Cemetery of the Great War. And the Victoria Memorial, in the Maidan, designed by Sir William Emerson, and built in 1906-1921 in a mixture of Renaissance and Indo-Saracenic styles, was a dream of Lord Curzon. It cost upwards of 76 lakhs, and was meant to be the gem of British architecture in the capital of India. But even while it was being constructed, the capital was moved to Delhi. It stands as a silent and lonely symbol, in Calcutta, of so many features of British cultural effort in India: noble intentions, often leading to results the very opposite of those expected.

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*See India Office Records, Home Miscellaneous, Vol. III (6). An excellent Catalogue of these Records, by S. C. Hill, is available, published in London, 1927.

CONDITIONS OF SUCCESS

Architecture as an Art can only fulfil its mission where the builders are in touch with those for whom they build, and thoroughly understand and sympathise with the surroundings, cultural and social, as well as those provided by climate and nature. Even in the general anarchy of the eighteenth century, wherever there was efficient rule in Indian hands, we find that artistic building work was done.

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*Lord Curzon gives a full account of this Government House in "British Government in India" (i. 39-76.).

SOME GOOD BUILDINGS OF THE PERIOD

Schwartz noted, when he visited Haidar Ali in Seringapatam in 1779, that his palace was a good building of hewn stone with numerous stone pillars. In Indore, the famous Holkar Rani Ahalya Bai, who died in 1795, left many beautiful buildings, including the Mausolea in Chhatri Bagh, with delicate carvings in low relief, in which also is her own cenotaph. Jaipur, the beautifully-planned "pink City," was the creation of Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II, who died in 1743. He was a great-grandson of the famous "Mirza Raja" Jai Singh I. Jaipur, with its wide well-planned streets, and noble stone buildings, still breathes an atmosphere of art. The present Golden Temple at Amritsar, with its domed roof plated with copper gilt, and surrounded by a lake, was built soon after 1763. Though its present mean surroundings are not in keeping with its artistic beauty or its religious atmosphere, the original building ranks as one of the most sincerely-conceived architectural monuments of eighteenth century India.

LUCKNOW ARCHITECTURE

Although Lucknow has some meritorious buildings dating from Akbar's reign, for example, the Nandan Mahal and Ibrahim Chishti's Tomb, both in Yahyaganj, its rise as a capital dates from the reign of Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-1797), who moved his capital here from Faizabad. Asaf-ud-Daula built magnificently, and the architecture of his period affords an interesting study, not only in itself, but as an illustration of west and east meeting under conditions different from those of Calcutta or British India. In the Nawabi atmosphere of Lucknow, western art came not to rule, but to collaborate and serve. There was no actual fusion, but the two tendencies developed side by side, with such influence as friendly neighbours can exert on each other. Asaf-ud-Daula's architecture shows both vigour and originality, sincerity of feeling, and search after new forms. It has also the great merit of reliance on just proportions rather than on profuse decorations or rich material for its artistic effects. The buildings are in brick and stucco, but they are well-conceived and well-built. Good taste continued to prevail under Nawab Saadat Ali Khan (who reigned during 1798-1814), but it gradually declined under his successors, until the later Nawabi architecture became merely showy and fantastic, and deserving of the strictures passed on it by James Fergusson, the historian of Indian architecture.

GREAT IMAMBARA: AN EXPRESSION OF CULTURAL NEEDS OF TIME AND PLACE

Asaf-ud-Daula's Imambara is a remarkable building. It reflects completely the social and spiritual life of the Shia rulers of Oudh. Its success is due to its sincerity, just as in the case of the distinctive forms of Urdu literature which flourished in Lucknow—the *Marsiya* and the drama—which we shall have occasion to notice later. The great Imambara was built in 1784 by the architect Kifayatullah, who seems to have successfully solved the many problems, technical and artistic, which he had to face. There were two outer gates, only one of which, the Rumi Darwaza, still remains, recalling the association of Lucknow with Constantinople—with the then New Turkey which was vainly struggling in its birth-throes after the disastrous Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji (1774) put an end to Imperial Turkey as a Great Power. Before we enter the two inner courts, we pass through another gateway, with a pair of beautiful wrought-iron gates. Then we come to the Great Hall, which served as a Darbar hall for state purposes, and for the Muharram Assemblies during the first ten days of the Martyrs' mourning. In this hall is also the tomb of Asaf-ud-Daula. The hall is one of noble proportions, 163 feet long by 53 feet wide, and 49 feet high. The roof is unsupported by pillars. The material used is brick and mortar. There is neither wood nor stone. The hall is one of the largest vaulted galleries in the world. In the group of Imambara buildings is a mosque and a school, and a fine *baoli*, or well with a long flight of steps leading down to the water. The arrangement of the courts, the grouping of the buildings, the proportion of each in itself and in relation to the rest, and the honest work giving strength and stability to the whole, make it a monument of which Lucknow is justly proud.

RESIDENCY AND MARTINIÈRE

The only other monuments that we shall notice are the Residency and the Martinière (also called Constantia). The Residency is preserved as a ruin on account of its Mutiny associations. It was a palace of Asaf-ud-Daula, which was made over to the British Resident by Saadat Ali Khan (1798-1814). Though built of brick and stucco, like the great Imambara, its construction was sound, and it must have been a beautiful building before it was battered about. The Martinière was a palace designed by Claude Martin, a French adventurer who entered Asaf-ud-Daula's service in 1776 and died in Lucknow in 1800. It now houses his tomb and the Martinière College for boys of European parentage. It is a fortified building, with a striking tower, in a style which distantly suggests an Italian castle. The pseudo-Italian style did not please Fergusson. But it was well built and has admirably stood the test of time.

APPLIED ARTS

In the decorative and applied arts, again, Lucknow figures prominently during this period. There is a very beautiful piece of enamel work, made in Lucknow, in the Museum at Calcutta. It has been illustrated and described by Mr. Percy Brown in *Indian Arts and Letters* (IV. I, Plate III). The muslins of Dacca, the brocades (*Kamkhwabs*) of Benares and Surat, and other beautiful textiles still held the field. The jeweller's and goldsmith's arts turned out extraordinarily beautiful work with very simple implements. The swords and armour of the period have much artistic merit. While older arts were still holding their own, newer arts were coming in, according to the opportunities which our artists got to learn them. An ingenious artist named Muhammad Ghaus made a copper-plate engraving to illustrate Persian caligraphy. A specimen of his work, dated A. H. 1200 (=1785-6), is reproduced by Sir William Jones (Works, I, 226, plate VI). In the same place will be found an interesting Urdu *ghazl* written by a lady, Gunna Begam, wife of Ghaziuddin Khan, whom Sir William Jones describes as "a man of consummate abilities and consummate wickedness, who has borne an active part in the modern transactions of Upper Hindustan."

DARBAR EQUIPMENTS

During that period Lucknow was the seat of a Court of great magnificence and refined artistic tastes. In a letter dated Fatehgarh 19th June 1815, printed in the Calcutta Gazette, we have a contemporary account of the reception of the Governor-General, Lord Moira (afterwards Marquess of Hastings), in the camp of the Heir-Apparent to the Nawab-Wazir. The camp, we are told, was "situated in a thick grove of trees, and being composed of various coloured materials, it sparkled with great brilliancy." During breakfast the Nawab's band played "a variety of English airs with considerable taste and skill." "A troop of nautch girls were introduced, who danced and sang; then tumblers, and finally, a theatrical representation. When breakfast was finished, the Nawab led his Lordship and suite into an appartment formed of *Kanats* and a *Shamiana*, spread with white carpets, where a variety of trays were displayed containing shawls and gold and silver tissue. At one end of the apartment was a transparency, representing the portrait of Lord Moira, an excellent likeness, copied from Mr. Home's admirable picture at Lucknow. The frame was covered with rich cut-glass double branch shades, by which it was lighted at night. On each side of the picture there was a couch splendidly adorned." Lord Moira presented the Nawab with his beautiful grey English horse, decorated with costly accoutrements in the Hindustani fashion. The horse had belonged to the Prince Regent in England, who had given it to Lord Moira on his leaving for India.

SHIP-BUILDING

Among the skilled industries which are now extinct in India was that of ship-building. Though India has never been a great maritime nation, her navigable rivers have always been highways of commerce and navigation from the most ancient times. Alexander's Admiral built a fleet in the Punjab. The Indus and her tributaries were the great highways of the Punjab throughout the Middle Ages. The Jamna has been navigable as far as Agra and

Delhi, and the Ganges as far as Allahabad. All Bengal east of the Hugli is a perfect net-work of rivers. Akbar maintained an important department of the navy. When the British took over Bengal, they succeeded to the Mughal Nau-wara, of which details are given in James Grant's *Analysis of the Finances of Bengal* (1786), printed in the Fifth Report. There was a naval establishment of 768 armed cruisers and boats, principally stationed in Dacca, to guard the coast of Bengal against the incursions of pirates, on which the annual expenditure was 8½ lakhs of rupees. Mr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, in his *Indian Shipping*, (p. 249) refers to a Register of ships built on the Hugli from 1781 to 1839. The number of ships so built was 376. Burmese teak was used for the bottoms, sides, decks and keels; the beams and inside planks were of Sal; and the frame of Shisham. The Sal and Shisham came from North Bengal, Bihar, and Oudh.

PARSI NAVAL ARCHITECTS AND DESIGNERS

But the most fascinating chapter in the history of British-Indian ship-building is connected with Surat and Bombay. The teak-wood of Malabar and the Western Ghats is superior to that of Burma. On the west coast the Sidi of Janjira had been the Admiral of the Mughal Empire. He was ousted from his post after a stiff naval battle in 1759. The dignity and emoluments of this office which amounted to nearly a lakh of rupees, were conferred on the East India Company. A Parsi family, beginning with Lowji Nasarwanji (1736-1774), became expert in building and designing ships. They built ships for the East India Company, both for their naval and mercantile service, as well as big ships of the line mounting 74 guns for the King of England's Royal Navy. So great was the fame of the Bombay dockyard that in 1814 and again in 1819, large frigates were built for the Imam of Muscat, which were christened in compliment to the Muslim monarch with rose-water and attar instead of wine. Private merchant-ships were also built. A list of Bombay built vessels during 1736-1863 can be seen in Low's *History of the Indian Navy* (1.537-41). These Bombay-built ships were very strong and durable, and they did great credit to their Parsi naval architects and designers. They often lasted 50 years or more, whereas the life of a ship in the British Navy was about 12 years. (*Thornton's Gazetteer*, 1.93-4). In 1819 Mr. Jamsetji Bomanji received fine testimony to the strength and seaworthiness of the first frigates he had built for the Royal Navy. His ship, H. M. S. Salsette, with five other small vessels of war, and twelve valuable merchantmen under their convoy, were beset by the ice in the Baltic Sea in the winter of 1808-9. The Bombay-built ship was the only one that escaped shipwreck.

MUSIC

The cultivated people of India, both Hindu and Muslim, more frequently pursued the practice of music in these days than seems to have been the fashion later, when the art was wholly given over to professionals, and the profession itself was degraded to the lowest rank. Of a book on music, called *Mufrarih-ul-Qulub*, there are a number of manuscripts in the India Office Library. It is in Persian and Hindustani, by Hasan Ali Izzat Dakhni. It was commenced in the first year of Tippu Sultan's reign, 1783, and finished in 1785. Sir William Jones wrote an Essay on Indian Music in 1784, of which an enlarged edition was published in his Works (1. 413-443). Some of the Sufi orders were specially devoted to it. It is curious to note that Bengal, which has since come into the front rank for the cultivation of Indian music, was very behindhand in this respect in Sir William Jone's time. On the other hand, among Urdu poets we find that Khwaja Mir Dard (Delhi, 1719-1785)* was devoted to music. Dard inherited the *Naqshbandia* tradition of spiritual music. Many of the most noted musicians of his day used to bring their work for his criticism, and regular music parties were given in his house twice a month. For the Golden Temple at Benares Warren Hastings presented a music gallery, which the Pandits of Benares acknowledged in the following quaint words in their address sent to England during Hasting's impeachment: "To please us dull people, he caused a spacious music gallery to be built, at his own expense, over the gateway of the temple of Viswesvara, which is esteemed the head jewel of all places of holy visitation."

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*The Encyclopædia Britannica's date, 1793, for Dard's death, is incorrect.

CHAPTER IV

LEARNING, EDUCATION, JOURNALISM AND LITERATURE

THERE WAS GOOD USEFUL KNOWLEDGE IN THE EAST

Macaulay's off-hand dictum at a later period (see Chap. 5.), about Oriental books being "of less value than the paper on which they are printed was when it was blank"—has obscured the fact that a good deal of useful learning existed among our people before the new learning from Europe came upon us as a flood. When the Bengal Asiatic Society in its youth was collecting all kinds of information, in natural history as well as other subjects, it got valuable assistance from Indians, who wrote in their own language, but whose work was translated into English. One such writer was At-har Ali Khan, of Delhi, who described the common bird *Baya* (the Indian Gross-beak) from personal observation. It was a detailed description: the size of the bird, the colours in its plumage, its nesting and other habits, its food, its eggs, its training under man, and various legends connected with it. (Sir William Jones, Works, I. 543-4). Another, a physician Mir Muhammad Husain, who was described as "excelling in every branch of useful knowledge," travelled in 1783 from Lucknow to Calcutta, and made his contribution to medical research. He gave certain prescriptions, and described certain diseases in a manner found worthy of record (Jones, Works, I. 553-8).

KNOWLEDGE OF VALUABLE DRUGS, AND OF VACCINATION

The knowledge of Indian herbs and drugs has only recently begun to be utilised in western systems of medicine, and has led to remarkable results, especially in the treatment of leprosy. The old Indian remedy, Chaulmoogra oil, is now successfully employed for leprosy all over the world, and has proved a blessing to thousands of patients. The smoking of *Dhatura* for Asthma, the use of Nux Vomica (*Kuchla*) for paralysis and dyspepsia, and to a certain extent the use of Croton (*Jamalgota*), as a cathartic, are due to India (See

Mr. P. Johnston-Saint, Sir George Birdwood Memorial Lecture, 1929, *The Times*, London, 11th May 1929). It is less generally known that vaccination or inoculation against small-pox was known and practised in the East from time immemorial. Inoculation against small-pox, that is, the introduction of a mild form of cow-pox to prevent the virulent form of small-pox, was introduced from Turkey into England in 1721 by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, whose husband had been British Ambassador in Constantinople. After this, inoculation was practised in the British Isles, though not in a large or systematic scale. Dr. Edward Jenner, an English physician, a pupil of the famous Dr. John Hunter, made careful experiments in the introduction of a mild form of cow-pox for the prevention of small-pox in human beings. He published his results in 1798, and his methods were widely adopted, both in England and India, and indeed all over the world. We find in the *Calcutta Gazette* (June 19, 1806), that "the principal Inhabitants of Calcutta and its Dependencies" sent Dr. Jenner a testimonial of their gratitude, with a subscription of three thousand pounds, and a promise of more to follow. The Committee consisted of Englishmen, but the subscriptions no doubt came from Indians as well as Englishmen.

INDIAN SUBSCRIPTIONS TO PLEASE THE RULING POWER

It was indeed the fashion among wealthy Indians then, as it has been subsequently, to subscribe large sums for any objects in which the British community in power was interested. Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur (founder of the Sovabazar family) gave Warren Hastings three lakhs of rupees for his scheme of the Calcutta Madrasa for the teaching of Persian and Arabic. This was quite natural. The Maharaja began as a humble Munshi to the British when Siraj-ud-Daula still ruled in Bengal, and owed his wealth and position entirely to the British. Moreover the Madrasa was to be a Calcutta institution, in which all Indians might be interested. But the legacy of £2,000 left by Amir Chand (or Uma Charan or

Omichund)[*] to the Foundling Hospital in London, is somewhat surprising. He knew nothing of the Foundling Hospital, or its objects or its work; and he would not have felt complimented at his description in the list of benefactors as "a black merchant of Calcutta." Clive had been more than a match for his treachery. But he no doubt worshipped power, and he must have found it easy to forgive trickery, even at his own expense.

HINDU METHOD OF VACCINATION

The method of vaccination practised by the Hindu was described by Nawab Mirza Mahdi Ali Khan from personal observation in a memorandum which was published in translation in the *Asiatic Register*, (London) for 1804. A Chaubè from Oudh lived in Benares City, and his practice was chiefly confined to outbreaks of small-pox. He acknowledged that he could do nothing after the eruptions had appeared. It was mainly a process of prevention, or "rendering it easy." "From the matter of the pustule on the cow," said the Chaubè, "I keep a thread drenched, which enables me, at pleasure, to cause an easy eruption on any child; adoring at the same time Bhawani (who is otherwise called Debi, Mata, and Sitla, and who has the direction of this malady) as well in my own person, as by causing the father of the child to perform the like ceremonies; after which I run the drenched string into a needle, and drawing it through between the skin and flesh of the child's upper arm, leave it there, performing the same operation in both arms, which always ensures an easy eruption."[†]

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[*] See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Ed., article *Omichund* by Mr. J. S. Cotton. He is there described as a Sikh, I think incorrectly. Mr. Cotton's authority, I fancy, was S. C. Hill's *Bengal in 1766-7* (I. xlii-xliii), where the authority quoted is a Babu Sarada Charan Mitra, *Sahitya Samhita*, Vol. I. No. 1., pp. 9-15. After Amir Chand was discarded by Clive, he was sent "on a visit of devotion to Malda" (Hill as above II. 465), which would have been meaningless to a Sikh, but would have been a good euphemism for banishment for a Hindu. Probably Amir Chand was a Khatri settled in Bengal. Most of the Bankers and Seths of Bengal during the Nawabi were of upcountry families settled in Bengal.

[†] The substance of this and the two following paragraphs is based on James Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs*, 2 vols. London 1834; (written in 1812-3); see II. 374-379.

THE NEW VACCINATION BECAME POPULAR AT ONCE

Whereas the practice of vaccination was previously rare, and only possible when a specialist was available, and at considerable expense, its adoption in England and the world generally after Dr. Jenner's experiments and improvements, led to its introduction in its new form to India, and it became popular at once. Mr. James Forbes wrote in 1812-13: "The English have introduced the blessings of vaccination among all descriptions of people in Hindustan. By which means the lives of thousands and tens of thousands are annually preserved. In this humane undertaking the Brahmans have risen superior to prejudice, and under their extensive and powerful influence, all other castes of Hindus have adopted the practice. Many letters on this subject, from eminent Brahmans to medical gentlemen in India, do them honour; they contain the most liberal sentiments, and have been followed by a corresponding practice." In the Calcutta Native Hospital, 1,461 patients were inoculated for cow-pox in the year 1803-4, and a similar number in subsequent years (*Calcutta Gazette*, September 1806). It is curious that in later ages, this same vaccination should have aroused so much opposition in India. There is no doubt that this was due to the waning of confidence between the people and their rulers.

INDIAN TREATMENT OF OPHTHALMIA AND CATARACT: ENGLISH DOCTOR'S TESTIMONY

Mr. Underwood, a relative of Dr. Forbes, who practised in Madras, about the same time, wrote to him as follows. "Although I have no high opinion of the general mode of practice among the natives, yet in a few instances I should give a preference to their remedies, particularly in the ophthalmia, or sore-eye, of India. The inflammation frequently runs so high that the sight is destroyed, unless by some active means the affection, so deeply rooted, can be removed. This, I think, is best done by an early application of what is called at Madras the "country remedy," which is a thin paste, made by burning a little alum on a hot iron, and mixing it with lime juice by a spatula into a paste. This is applied over both eye-lids, to the extent of the circle of the orbit, at going to rest, and washed off in the morning with a decoction of tamarind leaves. This I consider the best and most certain remedy for a disease that so repeatedly causes blindness; a surprising number of the natives are entirely blind, especially among the poor. I have often seen a Mahomedan practitioner perform the operation of removing a cataract. He made a small puncture with the point of a lancet, immediately behind the iris, into which he introduced a particular instrument, so guided as to depress the cataract. This operation I prefer to any other mode yet practised, as it occasions less injury to the eye."

WHY THE OLD LEARNING FELL INTO A RUT

That both the learning and the learned in India had fallen into a rut, and that they had ceased to keep pace with the western world cannot be doubted. But it was not due to either want of will or want of talent, or want of character. It was due to want of opportunities when they had power, and poverty when they had lost their power. Tafazzul Husain Khan, the Vakil of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula at Calcutta, about 1788-92, was engaged in translating Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia* from Latin into Arabic (or was it Persian?). He also attempted to translate books on Algebra, Mechanics, Conic Sections, and Logarithms. He knew many languages, including Greek. He died in 1800, and a notice of him appeared in the *Asiatic Register* (Vol. V, 1803; Characters, p. 7). Another learned man, of whose intellectual curiosity we have a detailed record, written by himself, was Mirza Abu Talib Khan, also of Lucknow, but with connections in Bengal and Murshidabad. He travelled in western Asia, round Africa, and through Europe in 1799-1803, and wrote an account of his travels in Persian, which was considered of sufficient importance to be translated into English by Major Charles Stewart, soldier, orientalist and educationist. In an obituary notice of him the *Calcutta Gazette* (September, 1807) wrote: "Influenced wholly by a desire to improve or amuse his mind, then suffering under a series of heavy calamities, he determined to study the manners and institutions of the European nations." We shall have occasion later to refer to his literary work. While select active minds were reaching out to the new world of ideas that was opening out to them, the men of the old learning displayed in their character something of that other-worldliness, which was a badge of their Eastern birth. The Pandits who were assembled in Calcutta from upcountry and employed for two years in compiling a Code of Hindu laws, were offered money for their labours, but they refused to take anything except a bare subsistence allowance on account of their being away from home. They were content with the promise of public endowments for their own Colleges.*

LOSS OF ENDOWMENTS AND LOSS OF THE ATMOSPHERE OF FRESH LEARNING: CALCUTTA MADRASA

Hindu and Muslim seats of learning had indeed suffered grievously during the numerous revolutions that had engulfed India in the eighteenth century. They had suffered in two ways. In many cases they had lost their public endowments. But, more important than the loss of endowments was the loss of that tranquillity and settlement of mind which is required for intellectual pursuits, both in teachers and pupils. Nadia and Benares were in a state of decay as judged by living standards of learning. The Muslim schools and colleges had even been harder hit as they had been directly connected with the Powers which had lost their sway. Warren Hastings established the Calcutta Madrasa in 1780 "for the study of the different branches of sciences taught in the Mahomedan Schools." In justifying his action to the Directors of the East India Company (February 21st, 1784), he wrote: "It is almost the only complete establishment of the kind now existing in India, although they were once in universal use, and the decayed remains of these schools are yet to be seen in every capital, town, and city of Hindustan and Deccan."†

SANSKRIT COLLEGE IN BENARES

A counterpart to the Calcutta Madrasa was the Sanskrit College at Benares, established by the Resident there in 1791, in the Governor-Generalship of Lord

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*Gleig: *Warren Hastings*, III. 158.

†Gleig: *Warren Hastings*, III. 159.

Cornwallis. The funds were to come from the surplus revenue of the province or Zamindari of Benares (now the Benares State). The object was stated to be "the cultivation of the Laws, Literature, and, as inseparably connected with the two former, the Religion of the Hindus"—"under the auspices and approbation of Government." The subjects of study were comprehensively stated: the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Upa-Vedas, the Vedangas, the Darshanas, the Dharma-Shastras, the Puranas, and all the different Vidyas as set out in the Agni Purana. The Professor of Medicine was to be a Vaidya, and the teacher of Grammar (Vyakarana) *might* be so also; but as he could not teach Panini, it would be better that all, except the physician, should be Brahmans. The scholars were to be examined four times a year, in the presence of the Resident, in all such parts of knowledge as were not held too sacred to be discussed in the presence of any but Brahmans. *

CHEQUERED CAREER OF THE SANSKRIT COLLEGE

Neither the appointment of Professors nor their supervision could have been on a satisfactory basis. We find that the first Principal, Kashinath Pandit, was dismissed in or about 1801 for various malpractices, including embezzlements and false registers of students and teachers. The President of the Committee, Mr. John Neaves, declared the Principal "to be the greatest villain he ever saw." Meanwhile several Pandits had been dismissed before him for various abuses. The high-flown aims of the College had not been fulfilled, but it had trained a few students fit to fill the position of Pandits in Courts of Justice. In 1811-12 the College was reorganised, and the very wide scheme of studies restricted. Two Sanskrit Colleges had been established by Government in Bengal. As the language of the Courts was still Persian, an attempt was made to open a class for the instruction of Law Pandits in Persian, but not a single Pandit availed himself of the opportunities provided.

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* For this and the following paragraph I am indebted to Mr. George Nicholls's Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Pathshala. Mr. Nicholls was head-master and wrote his sketch in manuscript in 1848. It was printed by the Government Press, Allahabad, in 1907.

Indeed the instruction in law itself was a failure. While the Pandits with the weight of their past learning were unwilling to adapt themselves to the new conditions, the ordinary Hindu Munshis and clerks in Government services were taking advantage of learning not only Persian but English. Gradually the whole position of the public service and the judicial organisation was changed, and the Sanskrit College was absorbed in 1844 in the Benares College as its Sanskrit Department.

CRITICISM OF THE POLICY OF FOSTERING ORIENTAL LEARNING

Both the Calcutta Madrasa and the Benares Pathshala were ineffectual and had to be gradually transformed into Anglo-Oriental institutions, having nothing to do with the training of men in Oriental learning or for Courts of Law. From their very foundation they were subjected to criticism. On the one hand it was objected by missionaries and their friends that the cultivation of non-Christian religious knowledge in Sanskrit or Arabic should not be encouraged by Government. In other quarters it was suggested, with truth, that the courses proposed were too wide, and there were too many teachers compared with the number of pupils. A third objection was raised by those who considered that instruction in English on Christian principles was necessary and desirable. Among those who strongly favoured this policy were men like Charles Grant and James Forbes, who have already been mentioned. On the Indian mind, in religious circles, this bias towards Christianity produced a strong prejudice against English education altogether. Thus the educational movement oscillated in waves, one way and another, until practical considerations won the day in favour of English, as we shall see when we come to discuss the English education movement in the next period.

FAILURE OF ORIENTAL CLASSICAL EDUCATION CONTRASTED WITH THE SUCCESS OF THE VERNACULARS

While this first phase of the Government movement for the education of Indians was a failure, it is curious to observe that the Government movement for the training of their own British officers and the parallel and allied movement of the Serampore missionaries produced a considerable impression on the Indian vernaculars, and through them on the Indian mind. The failure and the success can both be explained easily. The failure was due to the fact that the logic of events made the revival or bolstering up of out-of-date systems in any case impossible. It was doubly impossible when attempted by people who did not believe in those systems. The success of Fort William College, and of the Serampore missionaries (such as it was) was indirect; the results achieved were quite different from those aimed at; but there was a direct and earnest wish to reach the popular mind. And the popular mind was influenced, though it took a direction entirely unexpected.

FORT WILLIAM COLLEGE

Fort William College was founded by Lord Wellesley in 1800. Its beneficiaries were to be the servants of the East India Company. They were now, at the dawn of the nineteenth century, being drawn from a higher social stratum and the better educated classes in England. But they knew nothing of the country or its languages and traditions, and could not therefore meet on equal or superior terms with the Indians with whom they had to do business in the high positions which they began to occupy immediately on their arrival. It was necessary to train Civilians in the languages and customs of the country in an atmosphere congenial to their high dignity. Before such an institution was in working order, the Company had been obliged to "employ unlicensed persons, with whose characters and connections the Directors were unacquainted, to fill important posts, to the disadvantage of the Covenanted Servants, the latter not being qualified to discharge their particular duties." The College was amply provided with funds. Indeed it was criticised as being maintained extravagantly, and as giving the young Civilians "a good time" at the threshold of their career, when they ought to have been learning business in their posts up the country. The training of the Civilians from all the three Presidencies at Calcutta was also considered unpractical, and was not acceptable to the other two Presidencies. Well-paid Chairs for European subjects seemed to extend the scope of the College too widely.

Besides the European professors, there were eighty Pandits, Maulvis, and Munshis on the teaching staff, a number often greater than that of the scholars.

ITS SHORT CAREER

The Company's Directors in London, whose previous sanction to this grandiose scheme had not been obtained, objected to it in 1802, and ordered its abolition, substituting for it (1805) their own College in England, which was afterwards known as Haileybury College. Each Presidency also provided a local centre of education for its own Civilians in Indian languages and laws. Thus the Fort William College had a very short life as conceived by Lord Wellesley, though it continued to do useful work on a restricted scale in the Presidency of Bengal for many years afterwards.* It was abolished in 1854.

STUDY OF HINDUSTANI

Under the enthusiastic guidance of its Principal, Dr. John Gilchrist, who came out to India in the medical service of the Company in 1784, it started a great impulse for the systematic study of Hindustani. Gilchrist himself published an English-Hindustani Dictionary (1787-90) and a Hindustani Grammar (both in Calcutta), and numerous other books† in the language for the use of students of the College. His idea was twofold. He wanted in the first place his Civilian pupils to learn a vernacular that should have general popular currency in the whole of India, as Persian had a general currency then as the administrative, diplomatic and polite language. They would then be able to talk with every one, and not merely with their subordinates or with the higher classes. In the second place, as Hindustani was then the most

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*Between 1800 and 1818 it had published 31 Hindustani books, a number greater than that in any other language that it dealt with (Roebuck: *College of Fort William*, Appendix, pp. 21-27).

†Gilchrist's Urdu Dictionary (Urdu-English?) is said to have been published in Calcutta in 1787 (*Calcutta Review*, xiii.143); but none of the likely libraries which I have consulted (including the British Museum Library) has a copy. I fancy the *Calcutta Review* writer had really in his mind the English-Hindustani Dictionary, of which the first part was printed in 1787.

developed vernacular, with the widest geographical currency in India, he wanted it to develop a prose which should serve as the universal official language in India. Lord Wellesley's idea was to collect learned men from all parts of India, as Indian Princes used to do, to hold disputations four times a year in a grand Darbar, in a fine building, before Pandits and Maulvis, Rajas, Nawabs, and Indian dignitaries, and impress them with the grandeur of the new British power. Lord Wellesley was willing to spend money liberally, but the veto of the Directors nipped his scheme in the bud.*

WAS FORT WILLIAM COLLEGE THE CRADLE OF URDU PROSE?

It is often claimed that Urdu prose owes its inception to Fort William. This claim is true only in a qualified sense. Men like Mir Amman, of Delhi, who lost their all in the Mughal capital, were glad to find employment in Calcutta, and sang the praises of Lord Wellesley, the *Ashraf ul Ashrāf* (the noblest of the noble), *jin kī ta'rīf men 'aql hairān aur fahm sar-gardān hai* (for whose praise human intelligence is doubly inadequate), and of John Gilchrist, *sāhib i zī shān muhibbon ke qadardān,* (the gentleman of exalted station, patron of his friends). In fact the patronage amounted to little, but the new body of literature turned out for the young British officers and learned by them set a new fashion in literature among the Munshis and those who frequented official circles. As to the older school of literati, the *sakhun-dānān i zī sha'ūr,* the established schools of Lucknow and Delhi, they only scoffed. Even Mir Amman, writing in Calcutta, seeks to justify his new idiom in the Introduction to his *Bāgh o Bahār,* by two implied arguments: (1) that he was writing for the instruction of foreigners, and (2) that the ruin of Delhi had scattered its men among distant places and mixed its vernacular. No Urdu writer or reader ever read the *Bāgh o Bahār* or any of the other text-books of the Fort William College as literature.*

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* Lord Wellesley's notes on the foundation of Fort William College and his Regulations will be found in Martin's *Wellesley Despatches,* II. 325-361. See also the *Annual Asiatic Register,* Vol. II, p. 104. I have gone behind the colourless official phraseology, which I have interpreted in the light of events. I have also used non-official sources.

HOW URDU PROSE REALLY AROSE

The real foundation of Urdu prose for current literary purposes was laid after Persian was deposed in 1839 from its position as the language of law, administration, diplomatic correspondence with Indian Darbars, and local records. In Hyderabad and some other States Persian still remained the official language until a generation ago, and the current use of the vernacular came correspondingly later. Law and legal phraseology gave precision to the vernaculars; their use in court records and petitions ennobled them in the eyes of all classes of the people; and their use in terse orders and reports stripped them of that verbosity and circumlocution, that flowery exurberance, which had become associated with literature. The rise of vernacular newspapers brought the vernaculars into touch with current events, enriched them with new words owing to contact with a wider world, and affected popular speech and popular modes of thought far more than the older literatures, confined to select circles, could have done.

FAILURE OF THE IDEA OF A VERNACULAR AS A COMMON LANGUAGE OF INTERCOURSE THROUGHOUT INDIA

The chief merit of Dr. Gilchrist's conception lay in a direction where it failed. At that time no vernacular had any notable prose literature or stood in the minds of the people as a vehicle for literature. Sanskrit to the Hindus, and Arabic and Persian to the Muslims, meant the languages of learning and literature. Verse in the vernaculars embodied ballads or legends, or combats of wit, or love themes, or religious songs, or songs of ceremony. The vernaculars were only used in prose in familiar or bazar talk. All of them except one were locally confined to definite areas, which were called countries (*Des's*).

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*Saiyid Abdul Latif (*Influence of English Literature on Urdu* p. 80) follows the more orthodox view that the Fort William College productions "have contributed in no small measure to the very high standard of prose which Urdu writers have attained during recent years." As a matter of fact the Fort William translations are not free from prose rhymes. There were hardly any prose works published, apart from these, before 1832 or a good deal later.

That one exception was the result of the supremacy of the Mughal Empire. Its standard form was that of Delhi, but its local forms were spread all over the country, from the Afghan border to Eastern Bengal, and from the Himalayas to the Deccan. It was roughly called Hindustani or Hindi, or among the learned of the Muslim Courts, Urdu* or Rekhta. Gilchrist's idea was to make it the medium of communication between the English administrators and the people of India generally. As Mir Amman says: "The British desired to know the language of the Camp and converse in it with the people of India." (*Sāhebān i zi shān ko shauq hua ke Urdū ki zabān se wāqif hokar Hindustāniyon se guft o shanid Karen*). The Commission which he was given to write he expresses as follows: "Translate this tale into the common spoken language of Hindustan, such as the people of the camp, Hindu and Muslim, women, men and children, great and small, speak amongst each other" (*Is qisse ko theth Hindustānī guftagū men jo Urdū ke lōg, Hindu Mussalmān, aurat mard, larke bāle, khās o ām, āpas men bolte hain*). If Persian had been abandoned then instead of in 1839 as the official language, it is possible that Urdu could have taken its place, and we should have to-day a vernacular language of common intercourse throughout India. By 1839 the idea of vernaculars had been provincialised.

CAUSES OF THE FAILURE: PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

Urdu in that case would not have been the highly Persianised idiom which it became as the special language of the Muslims. It would have been closer to the soil. It would have been Hindustani as understood by the Principal of the Fort William College. Later attempts have been made in that direction, by, for example, Inshā in Lucknow (who died 1817), Pandit Sudhākar in Benares (circa 1900), and the Allahabad Hindustāni Academy (which is now working to that end). But without a central direction the movement cannot gather strength, and it will depend

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*It was *Urdu kī zabān*, not *Urdu Zabān*, as the term is used in the *Bāgh o Bahār*. That meant the language spoken in camp and bazar. Mir Amman uses it in describing his commission to translate the story of *Chahār Durwesh* from Persian.

for its success upon a desire for linguistic unity among the two great communities of India. It may be noted that a mere desire to exclude Persian or Arabic words (as in the case of Inshā) would be only a trick, a *tour de force* in a particular work, and cannot succeed in building up a flexible language. It would only be on a par with Inshā's Persian Mathnavi from which all dotted letters are excluded (*Mathnavi be-nuqt*), which can have no possible effect on popular speech. The collaboration of Sri Lallu Lāl Kavi and Kāzim Ali Jawān in the Fort William College could produce in *Singhāsan Battīsi*, a mechanical mixture of Persianised and Sanskritised words, but they did not reflect the language spoken naturally in the villages. The Hindi prose which Sri Lallu Lāl wrote as pure Hindi created a new kind of artificial Sanskritised Hindi, quite different from the beautiful language of Braj poetry. The difference in vocabulary between Mīr Amman's or Nihāl Chand Lahori's Calcutta prose and the popular poetry of Nazīr Akbarābādi (who died about 1830) is hardly perceptible. We can almost say the same of the Dīwān of Walī of Aurangabad (who flourished about 1722), making due allowance for his Deccani. The difference between the vocabulary of Sri Lallu Lāl's *Prem Sāgar* and the contemporary or even later Braj songs in honour of Krishna is noticeable to a marked degree. Here we had the creation of a new high Hindi, which marked a strong departure from the language popularly used in Hindustan. Not only did the ideal of a united Hindustani for northern India or the whole of India recede more and more into the background. Even the language of Hindustan became more markedly differentiated as between the two communities. It may be that this sharp differentiation was natural or inevitable in the circumstances of the nineteenth century. It is for consideration among the leaders of both communities how far a new approximation is now possible in the interests of a united India.

BENGALI AND THE SERAMPUR MISSIONARIES

The Serampur missionaries indirectly laid the foundations of modern Bengali literature. As India owes to this literature such names as Pandit Ishwar Chunder Vidyasagar, Bankim Chunder Chatterji and Rabindranath

Tagore, this movement has an all India importance. The Fort William College, though it was in Bengal, did less for Bengali than for Urdu and Hindi. But the Serampur leaders were in touch with the College, through the common link of the Asiatic Society, and were helped by it, and helped it. They devoted themselves mainly, but by no means exclusively, to Bengali—the systematisation of the language, the production of Bengali type and printing, and the publication of vernacular translations, not only of the Bible, but of other useful works. They also taught English, and were interested in establishing western ideas in India. They were missionaries of a very different type from the general run of missionaries hitherto seen in India. As Baptists they had the evangelistic outlook. They believed, not in a priesthood, or in mystical doctrine, but in appealing to the people in their own vernaculars, in using their own heritage of literature and knowledge, and in imparting western education of a practical type. Their work better reflected the practical direct methods of the average earnest Englishman than did the statecraft of the men in high places. As their success depended less on money or organisation than on the personality of their three leaders, we might cast a rapid glance at the lives of Carey, Marshman and Ward.

CAREY AND EDUCATION

William Carey was a wonderful man. Apprenticed to a shoemaker in England, he had the strength of character to study Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, in spite of his poverty. When the call of religion came to him, he worked for two years in his own country and came out to Calcutta as the first Baptist missionary in 1794, at the age of thirty-three. Missionaries were not then allowed to work in the East India Company's territories. He had no material resources, but he worked at an indigo factory in Malda for five years, holding aloft the banner of religion all the time. In 1799 he went to the Danish settlement of Serampur, thirteen miles north of Calcutta. The Danish Governor encouraged his missionary work. He translated the Bible into Bengali, and taught and preached. He became professor of Sanskrit and Bengali in the Fort

William College, and worked in conjunction with the Asiatic Society. Amidst much discouragement he also got much sympathy and assistance, and with his coadjutors, Marshman and Ward, he established a centre of eastern and western education and scientific study, that has left a deep impression on the cultural history of India. As a botanist he edited the *Flora Medica* of Roxborgh, the father of Indian Botany. He founded the Agri-horticultural Society of India, which still flourishes. He was also keenly interested in zoology. He died in Serampur in 1834. His wife assisted him in all his work, and established the Serampur Native Female Education Society, which managed at one time fourteen girls' schools.

MARSHMAN AND BENGALI JOURNALISM

Joshua Marshman was a son of a weaver, and became a school-master in England. Seven years younger than Carey, he joined the Baptist mission at Serampur in 1799, and worked at Indian schools in Calcutta, while his wife conducted a boarding school. In 1811 he founded the Benevolent Institution at Calcutta, for instructing the children of indigent Christians, not without a protest from the Junior Presidency Chaplain, on account of its "injurious tendency" with reference to Church of England institutions in Calcutta.* With his son John Clark Marshman, he took part in the literary activities of his mission, and built the handsome river-side building of Serampur College, overlooking Barrackpur Park across the river. It still flourishes and houses an interesting library. But the Marshmans, father and son, may be considered particularly as the founders of Bengali journalism. J. C. Marshman was the first to set up a paper-mill in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. Hitherto paper had come from Patna or other places up the country, or been imported from abroad, and in both cases the cost was high. The new paper was cheap and made on western lines, suitable for the everyday needs of journalism. J. C. Marshman was responsible for the first series of elementary books for "Native" schools and he closed his career with a meritorious *History of India* in two volumes (1863), which he appropriately dedicated to the "Native Youth of Bengal." In this he devoted a little attention to the cultural growth of India.

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* 31st July 1811, *Calcutta Gazette* advertisements.

WARD AND PRINTING

William Ward, the third of the Serampur trio, was a son of a carpenter, and learnt as a youth the trade of a printer in England. He edited several provincial newspapers in his own country, before he went out to India, as a Baptist missionary, in 1799. His special department of work was printing. He superintended the Serampur Press, which printed translations of the Bible in 20 different languages. He set up Bengali type. He was interested in the history, literature, and mythology of the Hindus, their manners and customs, and their philosophy, and wrote an elaborate book on the subject in three volumes, which was published in Serampur (1811), followed by a later edition in London (1822). Though he takes a gloomy view of the Hindus, he is full of hope for the future. The following words from his Preface express his zeal both for India and for his own country: "But let Hindustan receive that higher civilisation she needs, that cultivation of which she is so capable; let European literature be transfused into all her languages, and then the ocean, from the ports of Britain to India, will be covered with our merchant vessels; and from the centre of India moral culture and science will be diffused all over Asia....Never was such a mighty good put within the power of one nation...the raising of a population of one hundred millions to a rational and happy existence, and, through them, the illumination and civilisation of all Asia." This was a noble dream—none the less noble because the muse of history may after a century smile at the spirit of British self-complacence.

NEWS SHEETS BEFORE THE INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING

When we come to examine the history of Indian journalism, we must not assume that the printed newspaper, as we know it, is the form in which journalism began in our own country. That is no more true than the statement that postal communication began with the invention of the adhesive postage stamp in 1840. Good and efficient postal communication existed for State purposes from very early times. We have detailed accounts of the ordinary and the express post in the reign of Muhammed Tughlug* (1333), and of the post in the reign of Akbar.‡ In the same way news was collected, written out, despatched, and communicated for State purposes systematically under the Mughal Empire. The collector and despatcher of news was the *Khabar-rasān*; the writer was the *Waqāyi '-nawis* or *Wāqi 'a-nawis*; the postal runners who carried the letters or daily diaries were the *Harkāras* or *qāsids*. In the eighteenth century, when the central authority was weakened and communications became irregular, most of the minor powers had their own means of communication. But if a regular news service is to be established for the direct use of the public, it is essential that there should be a printing press, and that was not introduced into India till the establishment of British rule in Bengal.

PLACES FROM WHICH NEWS CAME

An interesting glimpse into the circulation of news in India by means of Persian papers is afforded by an English book printed in Calcutta in 1801. This was the *Hindoostance Intellingencer and Oriental Anthology*. It contained a narrative of events in the interior provinces of Hindustan, Punjab, and Afghanistan, as derived from Persian papers. The news was received through Akhbārs and Qāsids, from Delhi, Peshawar, Kabul and other places. It was collected at the chief centres of political influence, *e.g.* in the Courts of the Maratha Chiefs of Upper India, of Sindhia's French General Monsieur Perron, of Ali Bahadur Nawab of Banda, and of the British adventurer George Thomas, who carved out a short-lived Jat Kingdom at Hansi-Hisar.

ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS: BENGAL GAZETTE

As the first printing in India was in the English language, we should expect the first newspapers to have been in English, and intended for the British readers in India, and that was the case. The first Englishman to start a newspaper in India was James Augustus Hicky. He was a trade adventurer, became insolvent, and was in the Calcutta jail in 1776. When he had served his term, he started *Hicky's Bengal Gazette* in 1780. From the beginning he was in conflict with the authorities. He was arrested, imprisoned, and fined for attacks on Warren Hastings (the Governor-General) and Sir Elijah Impey (the Chief Justice). In March 1782 his press was seized, and the short-lived paper came to an end. I have examined the files of the *Bengal Gazette*. The matter was mostly of interest to the European inhabitants of the "Settlement," as he calls Calcutta, but there are some items of Indian interest. Under dates May 6th to 13th, 1780, we find two items. A poor woman was seized by a tiger in a tope (a little thicket or spinney) a mile from a European house in Calcutta. The servants demanded even then exorbitant wages, and did no work unless they were watched; government regulations were clamoured for. Under dates Oct. 6th to 13th we find a complaint that numerous arrack (intoxicating spirits) shops were kept by Europeans without license; and servants came and got drunk there.

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* See my *Three Travellers to India*, p. 35.

‡ In the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

ASIATIC MISCELLANY

We can imagine the sort of circles in which Hicky's Bengal Gazette circulated. But there was a more cultivated and select circle of English society in Calcutta, which was catered for by a quarterly journal, the *Asiatic Miscellany*, which lasted for two years 1785-1786, and was revived in a new form in 1789. This had a distinctly literary character. It sold at a gold Mohur per volume in Calcutta (£1.7.6). Its contributors included Mr. W. Chambers, Sir William Jones (Judges of the Supreme Court), "and other literary gentlemen now resident in India." It contained translations and imitations from Oriental languages, and elegant extracts, as well as some news, very scanty and stale, but of an authenticated character.

THE CALCUTTA GAZETTE AND OTHER NEWSPAPERS

The real British newspaper of Calcutta in those early days was the *Calcutta Gazette*. It was a semi-official weekly, published on Thursdays, and contained official notifications and orders, editorial comments, news of all kinds, correspondence, verses, reports of social parties, reports of cases in the Supreme Court, and extracts from other papers, including those from England, as well as advertisements. Balloon ascents figure sometimes in the news. The paper was started in 1784, under the sanction and authority of the Governor-General and Council, and Mr. F. Gladwin (its first Editor) was supplied with material for the official portion. It carried the Arms of the East India Company on its first page. But the Government was not responsible for the management, or, except as regards the official communiques, for the contents of the paper. Extracts from other papers mention the *Madras Intelligence* (as early as December 1785), the *Madras Courier* (February 1786), the *Indian Gazette* of Calcutta (June 1789), the *Bombay Gazette* (1791), the *Bombay Courier* (November 1794), etc. Reference is made to "Delhi Ukhbars" (*e.g.* on April 13th, 1815), "Lahore Ukhbars," (3rd December 1812), "Lahore newspapers" (8th September 1814), and "Ukhbars" from Holkar's camp (same date), which must mean Persian news-sheets of a public or semi-public nature. The correspondence included news letters (probably in Persian) from Delhi and other places up-country, as well as extracts from private letters. The advertisements throw light on very varied matters: food, drinks, prices, rents, wages, books in vogue, pictures, run-away slaves, lotteries, amusements, and other things that interested Anglo-Indian society. The *Calcutta Gazette* changed its character from June 1815, when it became the *Government Gazette*, still however retaining some features of an ordinary newspaper. After 1823 it was published twice a week. In 1832, it ceased to exist as a newspaper, and the *Government Gazette* assumed its modern form, with purely official contents. It is interesting to note that the *London Gazette* the oldest existing newspaper in the world, was only started in 1666, a little over a century before the original *Calcutta Gazette* (1784). It also contained ordinary news in the beginning, in addition to official matter.

TROUBLES OF BRITISH JOURNALISTS IN INDIA

We need not pursue further the history of Anglo-Indian journalism. In those early days the *Calcutta Gazette* was the only paper that had official countenance, and even so, it got into trouble in 1796 for some matter which was disapproved, and which it had to disown on the ground of the Editor's absence from Calcutta. There were a number of other papers, which got into trouble from time to time. We must not wonder at this, for the newspapers had a very difficult time in England itself, on account of the revolutionary ferment. There was the Libel Act of 1792; there was the rigorous Newspaper Act of 1798; there were numerous measures under Pitt's government for influencing and controlling the newspapers, and regulating their price and mode of distribution. There was the stamp duty on newspapers and the tax on advertisements. It was in such circumstances that *The Times*, the most famous newspaper of the world, born in London in 1788, set up a tradition of steady but independent national journalism, which has won so high a place in the newspaper world.* In India the censorship of the Press was imposed in 1799. Though it was removed in 1819, restrictive rules remained in force, and it was only in the great Liberal Movement of the 1830's that Sir Charles Metcalfe really granted freedom to the Press in 1835. The Anglo-Indian Press was usually critical of the Government, if not actually hostile. More than one English editor was deported from India by the East India Company's government, for example in 1794, 1803, and 1823. One influential English journalist we ought to mention. James Silk Buckingham started the *Calcutta Journal* in 1818, but his writings were so obnoxious to Government that his licence to reside in India was revoked in 1823, and he was expelled. The East India Company in those days had extraordinary powers not only over Indians but over Europeans. Buckingham, however, raised the question in England, where he became a member of Parliament, and a whole Parliamentary Blue-book (No. 601 of 1834) was devoted to his case. The Company had eventually to compensate him with a pension of £ 200 a year. In England he started (1828) the weekly literary paper, the *Athenæum*, which in other hands had a long and honourable career until it was absorbed in *The Nation* in 1921.

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*It was the first to use the steam press, as early as 1814.

NEWSPAPERS WITH TYPE-PRINTED PERSIAN AND BENGALI

About newspapers in Indian languages, the statement is usually made that the first of its kind was the Bengali weekly *Samachar Darpan* which the Serampur missionaries issued in 1818*. It was not even the first newspaper printed in the Bengali language. That honour belongs to the *Bengal Samachar* issued by Gangadhar Bhattacharya† (1816-18). But the *Samachar Darpan* had a longer life, (1818-1837), more varied items of news and information, and a wider circulation. As we saw, news letters in manuscript had been circulating in Persian long before that date. In chapter II we noted that Halhed cast Persian and Bengali types before 1778. Probably Persian printing in India was earlier than Bengali printing, as Persian was then and for many years afterwards the current official language in the whole of India. For newspaper printing, it is interesting to note that Persian was used as early as 1784 if not earlier. The *Calcutta Gazette* had, in its very first number (4th March 1784), a Persian column, type-printed, headed: *K͟hulāsa-i-Ak͟hbār i Darbār i Mo'alla ba Dār al K͟hilāfat S͟hāh-jahānābād* (Summary of News from the exalted Court, at the Capital, Delhi). It was a diary of a Wāqi'a-Nawīs at the Mughal Emperor's Court from day to day, with an English translation in a parallel column. This was continued week after week for several numbers. It was more than a Court Circular,

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*The date given in Burgess's *Chronology of India* is 1821. The correct date (1818) will be found in Marshman's *Life and Times*, II.175. The Danish missionaries in Tranquebar, earlier in the 18th century, also set up a Press in Southern India, in the "Malabar language" (Kanarese?). But I have seen no record of their having published a newspaper in a Dravidian language. See account of the *Progress of the Missionaries to Tranquebar*, Part II, p. 18, London 1710: and *Letters relating to the Protestant Danish Mission at Tranquebar*, London 1720, p. 13. A printing press for Malabaric and Portuguese was projected in 1709, and a printing press was received "from our benefactors in England" in 1718, for which they cut moulds and cast type locally. They also erected a paper-mill at great expense at Tranquebar.

† Sushil Kumar De: *History of Bengali Literature*, p. 236.

as it contained general news of a varied kind. It may, I think, be considered the first printed newspaper in a language current in India. Like its English host, in whose columns it appears, it was a semi-official journal. In later numbers of the *Calcutta Gazette* there were type-printed Persian and Bengali notices and advertisements,—Bengali being considered the local language of Bengal and Persian the general language of India.

BENGALI, PERSIAN, AND URDU NEWSPAPERS

When the Bengali *Samachar Darpan* appeared in 1818, the Marquess of Hastings was Governor-General. He approved and encouraged the project, and wrote with his own hands to the Editor. A Persian edition was simultaneously published, on which a postal concession was granted. It was to circulate at one-fourth the rate of the postage charges on English newspapers.* About 1822 appeared the eight-page weekly Persian newspaper, the *Jām i Jahān-numa*, with an Urdu literary supplement, containing an Urdu translation of the *Tārikh i 'Ālamgir*. The Urdu supplement lasted barely two years, but the Persian paper flourished, and in 1828 had a press of its own in Calcutta. Other Persian papers were: the *Āina i Sikandari*, Calcutta, 1831, (a literary paper), the *Sultān ul Akhbār*, Calcutta, the *Mahr i 'Ālam Afroz*, Calcutta, the *Mahr i Munir*, Calcutta, and the *Akhbār i Ludhiāna*, Ludhiana, 1839. The last was a paper issued by the American missionaries in Ludhiana. Thus the country was covered by a net-work of newspapers in the Persian language, from Calcutta in the East to Ludhiana in the West. As regards the *Sultān ul Akhbār*, it may be noted that it was edited by the well-known literary luminary of Lucknow, Mirza Rajab 'Ali Beg Surūr, the author of the *Fasāna i 'Ajaib*. I have not been able to ascertain accurately the precise date of the paper, or the precise year or years when Surūr was in

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* *Calcutta Review*, xiii. 145. The rest of the paragraph is based on an article in *Khayalistan* (Lahore, April 1930), by Saiyid Shahinshah Husain Razwi, of Lucknow, called Farsi Akhbar Tahd, Company men, which in its turn was based on an article by Khan Bahadur A.F.M. Abdul Ali, Keeper of the Records of the Government of India. I regret I have been unable to get Mr. Abdul Ali's original article.

Calcutta.* It is stated that Surūr in his paper developed a vigorous (*jasārat*) journalistic style, and that he ventured to criticise police administration and government measures. We can quite well understand that Surūr's Lucknow up-bringing would give independence to his character, and pointed precision to his pen.

GUJARATI JOURNALISM PIONEERED BY PARSIS

On the Bombay side the Parsis were the pioneers in Indian journalism, as they were in Indian trade and manufactures and the practical arts. Two names stand out in this connection, both belonging to a priestly family. Mulla Firoz (1758-1830) did a great deal to investigate the old Zoroastrianism and revive a spirit of religion among the Parsis. He enjoyed the confidence of the Government and wrote the *George-nāmā*, a Persian epic of British rule, called after George III and dedicated to Queen Victoria. His library is still one of the public institutions of Bombay. In 1822 he with Mr. Fardunji Marzban, founded the Gujarati newspaper, the *Bombay Samāchār*, which still exists as a leading Gujarati daily in Bombay. Marzban was a practical book-binder and opened his printing press in 1812. He collaborated with Mulla Firoz in various literary ventures for his own community. The *Bombay Samāchār* is the oldest existing vernacular newspaper in India.

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*The date of the *Fasāna i 'Ajaib* was 1828, not 1845 as noted in Tanhā's *Siyar-ul-Musannifin*, I. 149. The date 1845 is given by Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Litterature Hindoue et Hindoustanie* 2nd ed., III. 188, but it must be the date of the earliest lithographed copy used by De Tassy. The *Fasāna* was completed in the first year of the reign of Nasir-ud-din, King of Oudh, 1828 (Hijri, 1244): see Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, 1894, p. 394. De Tassy's date for Surūr's death is 1869. Tanhā says that he found in Tazkira that Surūr was in Lucknow till 1843, but he does not think he could have left Lucknow before 1856. Zutshi, in his *Guldasta i Adab* (p. 14), quoting Garcin de Tassy says Surūr was in Lucknow till 1847, and from another authority that he went to Calcutta in 1863. Shahinshah Husain's date for the Sultān ul Akhbār (*ur supra.* p. 30) is 1830. Can it be that after writing the *Fasāna i Ajaib* in Lucknow in 1828 he went to Calcutta about 1830 to edit his paper; that he returned to Lucknow subsequently, and was in Calcutta again after 1843; that he worked again in Lucknow under Wājid 'Ali Shah (1847-56), whose exile he afterwards shared in Calcutta; and that he returned home to die, some time after 1863? More probably the unknown Tazkira made a slip about the date 1843, or possibly Tanhā may have mixed up his notes.

CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL JOURNALISM

Thus we see that Indian journalism began under favourable auspices quite early in the history of British rule, and with a great deal of countenance from the Government. But four elements are essential to really successful journalistic enterprise: (1) efficient and cheap printing; (2) a practical education, in touch with current life, diffused among large masses of the people; (3) a wide popular interest in public questions, including those of politics, public administration, social movements, and events abroad, and (4) an instructed public opinion, not necessarily unified, but seeking some measure of unity, and able to influence the policy of Government and those at the helm of affairs in various departments of life. None of these conditions were fulfilled in this period, and therefore the Indian journals of this period are mere curiosities, though they are interesting as the first-fruits of a movement that has gathered strength since.

LITERARY INDIA: THREE VOICES

In speaking of the literary voices of the period, we must take account of three distinct notes: (1) the voice of dying India, (2) the voice of a new India that was being born under foreign influences, and (3) the voice of an India which still spoke in its old accents and according to the old conventions, but which was being insensibly transformed by forces from within, of which it was hardly conscious.

POETRY OF DYING INDIA

Some voices of dying India we considered in connection with the Delhi poets of the end of the eighteenth century. Other interesting notes were struck by Sūfi poets in Hindi, both Muslim and Hindu. Gulāl Sāhib and Bhika Sāhib flourished in the latter half of the 18th century. They carried on the tradition of an earlier generation of Sūfis who wrote in Hindi, such as Keshav Das and Bulla Sāhib, who themselves inherited an earlier tradition of Delhi, represented by Yari Sahbi (1668-1723). There were two independent but kindred movements. Shiv Narayan, a Rajput near Ghazipur, founded (about 1734) a sect rejecting caste and idolatry, and permitting Hindus and

Muslims to observe their own rites. They claimed to have the countenance of the Emperor Muhammad Shah (who died in 1748). Pran Nath, a Kayasth of Panna in Bundelkhand, similarly tried a synthesis between the two religions, permitting each member to follow the customary rites of his own family. His patron was Chhatar Sāl, the founder of Chhatarpur (who died in 1732). These movements and earlier Panths (sects) founded in previous centuries were in consonance with the spirit of the times, and only took a more modern form in the next generation in the Brahmo Samaj movement. The latter, however, was purely religious, while these were poetic and literary.* The Kabi poetry of Bengal was in the form of popular religious songs, and arose about the end of the eighteenth century.

PROSE OF AN INDIAN TRAVELLER TO WESTERN LANDS

The new India that was being fashioned in its mind by conscious contact with the west may be illustrated from Mirza Abu Taleb Khan. He travelled in Asia, Africa, and Europe in the years 1799-1803, and wrote an account of his travels in Persian. It was considered of sufficient importance to be translated by Major Charles Stewart, Professor of Oriental Languages at Haileybury. The Mirza was born in Lucknow in 1752. He had connections with the governing class in Murshidabad and Bengal generally. When Bengal came under British administration, he returned to Oudh, but retained his connections with Bengal. He was friendly to the new administration, and frequently visited Calcutta. In 1793 Captain D. Richardson, going on three years' leave to Europe, took him as a companion with him, and as he was anxious to study western life and thought, he gladly embraced the opportunity of travel, with hopes of getting some diplomatic post for the East under the British government. In this he was disappointed, but he was received with great distinction in England. He was presented to the King (George III) and Queen Charlotte. He mixed with the nobility of England, saw the Cabinet Ministers and the Archbishop of

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*For this paragraph, see F. E. Keay: *Hindi Literature*, pp. 67, 68, 69. For Kabi poetry see S. K. De: *History of Bengali Literature*, pp. 306-7.

Canterbury, and attended a banquet of the Lord Mayor of London. He died in 1807 and was honoured with an obituary notice in the *Calcutta Gazette*, an unprecedented honour for a native of India in those days.

ABU TALEB KHAN'S IMPRESSIONS OF ENGLAND

What did such a man think of Europe and her ways, Britain and her institutions? He wrote his impressions freely, without prejudice, and without indiscriminate praise. He esteemed British hospitality highly, and enjoyed the good things of life with becoming relish. The viands he found delicious, and the wines exquisite. Englishwomen he considered beautiful, and very graceful in the dance. He admired their music. He was greatly struck with the glass houses in which every kind of fruit was grown, and devoted pages of description to them as a remarkable novelty. After a visit to Oxford, he saw Blenheim, the seat of the Duke of Marlborough, and considered it superior to anything he had ever beheld, not excepting Windsor Castle, the residence of the King. He was not insensible to the charms of sport. "No country in the world," he says "produces a greater variety of sporting dogs than England." He wrote a Persian ode to London in imitation of the Odes of Hafiz. Unfortunately he was no poet. London was of course the largest city he had seen, but he dwells on other features of London besides its size. He was impressed with the brilliant lighting of its streets and shops by night and the arrangement of its squares or great open spaces. He enjoyed its life to the full: its coffee-houses, its clubs, its masquerades, with fancy costumes and masks, as well as the more serious side of its life, its literary, musical, and scientific societies (including the Royal Society). He notices its banks, its Royal Exchange, and its business life, as well as its newspapers and presses. English charity, he justly observes, was not given to casual beggars but through organised public institutions. Mail coaches travelling 1,000 miles in seven or eight days evoked his admiration, as also the British navy and British seamanship. He duly observed the excellence of the mechanical arts, steam foundries, engraving, cutlery, and iron works. The poverty he found among the Irish peasants impressed him: "the peasants of India," he remarks, "are rich compared to them."

AND OF ENGLISH PEOPLE

He sets out judicially a reasoned catalogue of British virtues and vices, extenuating nothing nor setting down aught in malice. He approves of trial by jury in England, but not the tendency to allow law to override equity. He altogether disapproves of the British courts of law in India. The severity and ambiguity of English law incurs his censure. On the subject of liberty, he has a balanced opinion. Though the common people enjoyed more freedom than in any other well-regulated State, the equality was more in appearance than in reality. The difference between the comforts enjoyed by the rich and the poor was much greater in England than in India. In the same way about women: he would not admit that the greater apparent freedom of women in England was not accompanied by greater real restraint than in the case of Muslim women. He wrote a pamphlet on the Liberty of Asiatic Women, which was published in the *Asiatic Annual Register* in 1801. Among the virtues he admired in the English may be mentioned: the high sense of honour among the better classes; the desire to improve the common people; obedience to laws and rules of propriety; sincerity and plain dealing. Among the features which he condemned were: want of religion; luxurious living; contempt for other nations. But, he adds, many of these vices were not natural to the English character, but ingrafted by too much prosperity.

LUCKNOW POETRY

The atmosphere wholly changes when we turn from this chivalrous critic, this cosmopolitan man of the world, this detached favourite of Calcutta English society, to the court of Lucknow, where internal forces were working to transform the old traditions, and where literature, struggling to free itself, was yet under the fetters of the old conventions and the narrow court life. In this connection we shall content ourselves with noticing the life and work of Insha.

INSHA'S BRILLIANT ATTAINMENTS

Saiyid Insha-Allah Khan Insha came of a family of physicians to the Mughal Court of Delhi. In the confusion of the middle of the eighteenth century his father migrated to the Court of Murshidabad, and Insha was born in that city, somewhere about the year 1756-7.* From his earliest days he showed great originality, a lively intelligence, and wonderful versatility. He was interested in everything, music, poetry, languages, sciences, arts, and the manners of men. Among languages he mastered the usual Muslim classics in Arabic and Persian, but his genius was inclined towards popular speech in its various dialects, Urdu, Punjabi, Braj, Purbi, Kashmiri, Pushtu, Marathi, perhaps Bengali. He was the first to introduce English words into Urdu verse. He both sang and played on the Sitār. After the English revolutions in Bengal, he moved to Delhi, to the Court of Shah Alam. As the Emperor Shah Alam entered Delhi from his wanderings at the end of 1771, we may suppose that Insha got to his Court somewhere about 1776 at the age of about 20. But the moribund court of Delhi was not the place for the young and quick-witted poet who had already seen so much of the new world that was opening out to India by way of Bengal. The poets in Delhi lived in a world of their own. He was young and they were old. He was seeking new ways and they were attached to the beaten paths trodden by Sauda and Taqi. His playful wit sharpened his pen, while they were wrapped up in their own dignity. As Azād says (*Ab i Hayāt*, p. 261):—

> "Though these men might have been practised poets, and some of them even masters in their art as they understand it, how should they have (Insha's) varied and versatile knowledge? Even if they had such knowledge, they were poor ancient creatures, devoted to their old traditions. How should they get this brilliant mother-wit,

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*None of the Tazkiras that I know mentions the date of Insha's birth. His father, according to the *Ab i Hayāt*, was in the Court of Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula, and Insha was born there. Siraj-ud-Daula's short reign was in 1756-7, and we may accept that as the approximate date of Insha's birth. I have reconstructed the other dates of his life more or less conjecturally, but we may accept the date of his death in 1817 with confidence.

this flexibility of language, this polish of new phrases, this pointed inventiveness?"

HIS CAREER IN DELHI AND LUCKNOW

Perhaps the greybeards were jealous. Perhaps the young new-comer was insolent. An acrimonious wordy war ensued, and Insha's position became quite impossible in Delhi. It may be also that the impecunious Court at Delhi repelled him and drew him to the glitter of the Nawabi court at Lucknow. Insha soon moved over to Lucknow some time about the end of Asaf-ud-Daula's reign (1797), or early in Saadat Ali Khan's reign (1798-1814). He became a favourite of Saadat Ali Khan, but he assailed his rivals with the same bitter tongue that had made Delhi impossible for him. As long as he retained the Nawab's confidence, he reigned like a literary despot, and most of his lasting work was done during this period. About 1810 he fell from the Nawab's favour, and spent his last days in loneliness and misery. The loss of a young son also preyed on his mind, which was already unhinged with the disgrace at court. He died in Lucknow almost unknown and unlamented in 1817. As a literary figure he had died in 1810.

APPRAISEMENT OF HIS GENIUS

His genius was essentially comic, and it was this trait which was the cause of his meteoric rise to fame and favour and of his eventual fall. In happier circumstances, who knows but he might have been the Carducci of Urdu literature? He brought the language of the people into the service of the Court, and though he shocked many of the more orthodox poets, he set up a tradition in Lucknow similar but not quite so earnest as that of his contemporary Nazīr in Agra. His flowing style, his experiments with different kinds of idioms, his respect for the spoken language of the people and his search for similes and metaphors from daily life, infused a new spirit into Urdu. Lucknow became the established nursery of Urdu. In the next generation Anis and Amanat gave a new splendour to the *marsiya* and the drama, the literary forms in which they were interested. But the way was prepared for their work by the intellectual curiosity and the literary adventures of Insha during the period 1798-1810 in which he reigned supreme in the Mushā 'aras and the literary circles of Lucknow.

HINDUSTANI PROSE WITHOUT PERSIAN OR ARABIC WORDS

The *Dāstān* or story which Insha wrote in Hindustani prose, without any admixture of Persian or Arabic words, is, according to the *Āb-i-Hayāt* (p. 270), only fifty pages long, but it carries out its promise as expressed in the following extract:—

"One day, as I was sitting down, it suddenly occurred to me: 'Let me tell a story in such a way that the language should be pure Hindi, and there should not be in it the least little jot of any other tongue: there should be in it neither a foreign nor a rustic word; then would my spirit swell and open out like a bud.' One among my acquaintances was a great man of letters: tied to old-fashioned ways and pompous modes. He objected. He shook his head; his mouth was in a pout; his nose was in the air, and his eyebrows in an arch; his throat swelled visibly, and his eyes were hard and red. Said he: 'How is this possible? To retain the character of Hindustani (Hindui) and not to allow the Bhākhā (village speech) to creep in! As good honest men talk among themselves: that should be the form, and there should not be a shadow of anything from outside! You can't do it!' I said...'If I could not do it, why should I say it?...Whatever I say I will indeed show you as done.'"

COMMON WORDS OF DAILY USE: ENGLISH WORDS

This was perhaps a *tour de force*. Though the words are Hindi, the construction is often forced. Certainly no ordinary men talk like that. But we can see that, in other pieces, where the rule of exclusion is not so arbitrarily enforced, a great many homely Hindi words, expressions, and constructions come naturally and bring the language nearer to the spoken language of the man in the street. Indeed his forcible use of homely Hindi words got him from his enemy Mus-hafi the opprobrious ephithet of *Bhāṇḍ*, a low comedian. In the poem which he wrote on the occasion of George III's recovery from mental illness, (*Qasīda tar Tahniyat i jashn*), probably in 1801 or 1804, English words are freely introduced, such as—

Powder (as a cosmetic)
Couch (a sofa)
Glass (to brink out of)
Bottle (of wine)
Paltan (originally, Platoon used for a regiment)
Organ (musical instrument)
Orderly (in attendance on a high dignitary)
Bugle (wind instrument)

It will be noted that these words are all now a part of our Urdu language, and occur in Insha in the forms which are still used. The Anglo-Indian word *Tiffin* also occurs as *Tipan*. These words are used as appropriate for the occasion, and not for comic effect, as was done by the poet Akbar in our own times.

LIBERTIES WITH METRE FOR EXPRESSING SPECIAL MEANING

An interesting glimpse into the new leaven working in Lucknow poetry is furnished in the acrid verse contest between Mirza ʻAzīm Beg and Insha. In pursuance of the worst traditions of the older poets they were carping at each other's faults—in versification, in rhyme, and metre. It seems that ʻAzīm once used the metre *Ramal* in the midst of the metre *Rajaz*, and Insha attacked him:—

If, o zephyr, thou goest in these (degenerate)
days to a poetic contest,
Tell ʻAzīm to be a little more careful;
When by night the poets match ghazl with ghazl,
Let him not overleap all the bounds of verse,
And foist the *Ramal* metre into the *Rajaz*.

ʻAzīm's reply introduced the question of meaning rather than the technique of verse:—

You see no difference between metre and
meaning;
Because of a change of metre (*bahr*) you plunge
into a sea (*bahr*) of triumph;
But from west to east it is as clear as the full
moon,
That the headstrong crashes in his own pride,
like a thunderbolt
Poor childling! What can he do if he can only
walk on his knees!

The honours, it must be confessed, lay with 'Azīm for suiting the metre to the meaning, though this was rank heresy to the poetical orthodoxy of the day. As a matter of fact Insha himself was on the brink of such heresies, and still more so Nazīr, whom we can only notice in passing.

NAZĪR THE POET OF THE PEOPLE

Nazīr is *par excellence* the poet of the bazar and the field; of the villager, the artisan, and the Banjāra; of the Hindu, the Muslim, the Sikh, and the Sūfi; of nature, and philosophy, and the many-sided life, grave and gay, of the people. And yet of his personality we know nothing. Makhumūr Akbarābādi and Professor Shahbāz have recently issued critical studies of him and deduced a few facts about him. He certainly lived in Agra (Akbarabad), and his speech reflects the Hindustani actually spoken in that neighbourhood. Though he calls the city his own, it is doubtful if he was born there. He begins his poem on Agra with his words:—

> *Now that* I have got a footing (or house) in the
> City of Letters,
> How should I fail to describe the beauties of
> my City!

He praises its gardens, its streets, its river Jamna and the strong swimmers therein, and its music. We may infer that he died somewhere about 1828-1830, but we do not know the date of his birth nor the manner of his life. He certainly did not frequent courts. We do not even know his personal name, only his poetical *takhallus* (nom de plume). From internal evidence we see that he was in touch with all sorts and conditions of men and all phases of life, and his tastes were catholic. His vocabulary is not the limited vocabulary of a Court poet but the living vocabulary of a man who wrote with zest on such diverse subjects as: rain showers, the Agra swimmers, the seasons, the moonlight night, Holi and Diwali festivals, the birth of Krishna, Krishna's flute, Nanak Shah Guru, Salīm Chishti, the Taj Mausoleum, Banjāras, Jogis and Jogins, the Kal-jug, &c. &c.,—in fact everything which interested the man in the street. His poems are almost like ballads or folk-tales, though they have a Sufi colour. They run with a go and a lilt which haunt the memory. And his refrains have almost become proverbs; *e.g.*

Call not this the Kal-jug (age of evil);
Call it the Kar-jug (age of action);
Give by day and get by night;
'Tis a fine bargain, all cash!
Give with one hand, receive with the other.

It is a good sign that the poet is now being studied and edited with enthusiasm in Agra.* He did not even find a bare mention in the *Āb i Hayāt.* And yet he represents the first beginnings of the revolt against artificiality in the nineteenth-century Hindustani poetry.

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* This chapter and chapter VI (where I notice the rise of the Urdu Drama) were written before I had seen Mr. Ram Babu Saksena's *History of Urdu Literature.* I am glad to find his views in general agreement with mine. I cordially agree with his estimate of Nazir, to whom he devotes 7 pages. He has started on right lines with the history of Urdu literature, on which I hope he will publish further studies.

SECTION III

THE NEW ORDER GRADUALLY ASSERTS ITSELF
1818-1857

CHAPTER V

THE BEGINNING OF PUBLIC EDUCATION, 1818–57

EDUCATION, THE PIVOT OF THE PERIOD

In this period the chief interest centres round Education. The foundations of modern education were then laid in India, and most of the other cultural movements may be traced to this source. They either directly flowed from the fount of modern education, or they were a reaction of older forces against a too-fast-moving tide. Hindu religious thought in particular began to undergo transformations and give rise to movements whose ebb and flow, with their many currents and under-currents, affect the life of modern India. They came into the full stream later, but Hindu society in its thinking strata was profoundly stirred, and its reaction took forms which are equally interesting in the study of our national life. Indian thought of this period mostly found its expression in journalism, and the early founders of genuine Indian journalism link us with politics and social reforms.

ECONOMICS AND LITERATURE

Side by side, the political settlement of India in 1819 made possible a gradual economic reconstruction. This was not always favourable to India. It brought India, even more than the political arrangements, to dependence upon England. But it modernised our economics and furnished us with economic instruments which established firmly our relations with world movements. In Literature, British India generally had hardly yet found itself. But the patronage of a Royal Court in Lucknow facilitated the development of Urdu letters in two directions, the *Marsiya* and the Drama. The originality and the catholic poetical outlook of the *Marsiya* faded after the annexation of Oudh. But the Hindustani drama continued to develop and flourish on the foundations laid in Lucknow. Parallel movements in other vernaculars attained all-India importance later.

SUPREMACY OF BENGAL: RISE OF A MIDDLE CLASS

In education and other matters the supremacy of Bengal in this period is noticeable and easily accounted for. Bengal was the first province to feel the British influence intensively. The study of English in that province made rapid strides before the other provinces woke up. The plastic Bengali intellect absorbed and assimilated the new influences with avidity. The creation of the new race of Zamindars through the Permanent Revenue Settlement, as soon as the drawbacks of the new system began to wear away, checked a complete drain on the resources of the countryside and established minor centres of patronage which in some measure supplied and extended the lost patronage of the Nawabi court at Murshidabad. The British capital at Calcutta did little for Indian arts and crafts at that stage, and its tendency, due to the influx of foreign goods and the new fashion in foreign taste, was on the whole destructive. But in mercantile pursuits, new vistas were opened out by a world-wide foreign trade. The shipping trade employed a number of Indians in minor posts. And the growth in the activities of Government gave varied openings to middle-class Bengali families. Medical and legal education on new lines, entirely separated from religious influences or religious leadership, created a professional class. Though only the lower rungs of the ladder were yet open, the class gradually grew and found its interests interlaced with the increasing class of Government servants. These together constituted the backbone of the middle class, which found a voice in the new journalism.

DEMAND FOR CLASSICAL EDUCATION SLACKENED: THAT FOR VERNACULAR AND ENGLISH INCREASED

We traced in Chapter IV the origin and the failure of the first efforts in Indo-British education through the Indian classical languages, and the tentative efforts at the cultivation of Urdu and Bengali through the Fort William College. Side by side with these efforts in the highest government circles, were other movements by humbler agencies. These latter were more successful, because they were in touch, through the local vernacular, with the basic facts of Indian life, and because those who led them had moral fervour and the spirit of self-sacrifice. They limited their vision to Bengal and had no dreams of an all-India development. But limiting their scope, they were more vigorous in action, and the tangible results they achieved have been more lasting. The Christian missionaries undoubtedly showed great devotion to the cause of education. But their proselytising outlook hampered their educational efforts. What Indians wanted was not their religion, but an education which would be of monetary value to them. While there were Indian law officers, to sit as assessors with English judges, and expound Hindu or Muslim law from Sanskrit or Arabic and Persian books, there was a small demand for such officers, and Sanskrit, Arabic, or Persian learning had some monetary value apart from its use for religious purposes. This arrangement continued till after the Mutiny, but progressively declined in importance, and there was a similar decline in the demand for such learning except for religious purposes. For Bengali there had been a slight demand in Bengal even in the factory days of the East India Company, as the lower grades of the Bengali *Amla* (clerical staff) were required for contact with the uneducated cultivators and workmen, but this demand was in those days less, and the remuneration smaller, than that for people who could use polished Persian for intercourse with the Nawabi courts and officials. When these were abolished, the demand for Bengali increased, and the Bengali-using *Amla* and translators in Courts and offices, employed by Government, increased by rapid strides, and so did the demand for Bengali education. But the higher grades of *Amla* required some knowledge of English, which gradually became the general administrative language. English therefore commanded a far higher market value, and the demand for it grew with a much stronger impetus.

VERNACULAR AND VILLAGE SCHOOLS

A Mr. Ellerton, employed in the indigo factory at Malda, where the Baptist missionary Carey also worked, established some vernacular schools at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In such leisure as he got from factory work, he also composed various Bengali books for the use of the scholars. A missionary, Mr. May, began his first vernacular school in the Dutch Fort at Chinsura in 1814. The East India Company's Government, as such, apart from its individual officers, had hitherto made no efforts towards the education of the Indian people. The Company's Charter of 1813, however, made a humble beginning. It set apart a lakh of rupees "for the revival and promotion of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories." The solid fact in this was the lakh of rupees. The policy was only vaguely defined, and it was expressed in words which mark no great departure from the earlier tradition. It enabled, however, the Governor-General, the Marquess of Hastings, to take notice of Mr. May's school, and to make it a monthly grant of Rs. 600. In a minute on the schools he recognised the claims, to the first place, of "the humble but valuable class of village schoolmasters."

MISSIONARIES, GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE AGENCIES

In 1815 the Indians themselves formed several schools in Calcutta and its neighbourhood. But education was still in traditional grooves. Its methods were antiquated, and the subjects of instruction were confined to a narrow circle. There were no text-books of a progressive or modern character. A large proportion of the children were Brahmans, and in the beginning Brahman children would not sit on the same mat with those of other casts. These defects were gradually rectified, and a healthier public opinion began to grow up. The Government interest was mainly in the preparation of a *karani* class (clerks), and to this end education was directed, both in English and in the vernacular. The missionaries had wider ideals. But, as we saw, their religious proselytism bred suspicion among the better-class Bengalis, who took advantage of the superior educational resources placed at their disposal, but broke away from the religious teaching as soon as they could substitue institutions of their own. Some devoted Englishmen in private life, like David Hare, and some advanced Bengalis, like Raja Ram

Mohan Roy, rendered most valuable service in the early history of Indian education. Their personal share will be referred to presently.

EXPANSION IN SUBJECTS, SCOPE AND METHODS: PREPARATION OF TEACHERS

Reading, writing, and arithmetic have been universally recognised to be the first steps in elementary education. In India, at that time, they occupied the whole field. And their object was supposed to be, in the case of middle-class boys, that they should be able to earn their livelihood as clerks, and in the case of peasants and artisans, that they should be enabled to protect themselves from the oppression of the lower-class *Amla*. But the true and earnest educationists soon widened the outlook. It was soon recognised that geography, a simple knowledge of the stars and planets, and a simple knowledge of natural philosophy and surveying helped in agriculture and in the arts, and that a higher standard of life was as good for a clerk as for anyone else, apart from the increased earning capacity which education might give. A normal school was established at Serampur, and inspecting Pandits were employed by Hare to help teachers and to systematise teaching by untrained teachers. An attempt was made to transform the old village school-master, who had been a sort of hereditary village functionary, or family priest (*Guru*) into a modern type which could come into line with new ideals and use new methods for the newer type of boy that was growing up. Such a boy would not be content to trace letters on the floor, or consider it a final promotion to be taught to write on dry palmyra leaves with reed and ink. The Calcutta School Book Society was founded in 1817, for the preparation, publication, and cheap and gratuitous supply of useful works in English and oriental languages, but not religious books. The Governor-General's wife the Marchioness of Hastings, herself prepared several elementary works, presumably in English.* The Calcutta School Society was established in 1818, to assist and improve existing schools and establish new ones. David Hare not only subscribed out of his own pocket, but collected subscriptions and helped in supervising the whole movement. He did similar service for the Calcutta Juvenile Society for Bengali Female Schools. This was founded in 1820, and did much to systematise the education of girls. Here the difficulty of getting teachers was even greater, and the whole structure had to be built up on new foundations.

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* *Calcutta Review*, xiii (1850), p. 141.

INITIATIVE OF BENGALI LEADERS: LAUNCHING OF HINDU COLLEGE

Meanwhile the enlightened Bengalis were not backward in advancing the cause of higher education in English. In adopting the principle of self-help they showed a power of initiative to which full justice has not been done. And they set in motion forces which have transformed the whole of India. It is true that large-hearted Englishmen in official positions, like Chief Justice Sir Edward Hyde East, freely lent their names and influence to the movement, but we must never forget the modest men, private individuals, who worked behind the scenes and did all the hard work. They sometimes even purposely suppressed their names for the good of the cause. The idea of establishing the Hindu College was mooted in 1816. While Ram Mohan Roy was inveighing in a meeting against idolatry, Hare came in uninvited, and, anxious as he was to identify himself with the Indians in all liberal movements, he formed a lasting friendship with Roy, which, as between their families, lasted after Roy's untimely death. Hare brought the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court into the cause of the Hindu College. It was at the Chief Justice's house that a meeting was held and the College decided on, "for the education of native youth." Roy's name would have frightened the orthodox Hindus, and it was omitted from the Committee in order to meet their objections. Subscriptions were collected among the Indians. A subscription of Rs. 5,000 made the donor a governor of the College for life. The Chief Justice became President and the Governor-General and Members of Council became patrons. Thus the scheme was launched under the highest official auspices, and with the approval of the orthodox community. The Hindu College began its work in 1817.

PREDOMINANCE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND ENGLISH IDEAS

There were two sections, primary or preparatory, and superior or college. The languages recognised were English, Bengali, and Persian, but the chief stress was laid on English. The atmosphere of education was distinctly English. English ideas began to gain ground among the pupils so rapidly that the conservative element was alarmed, and had to be calmed down. Under the Earl of Minto's Minute of the 6th March 1811, it had been contemplated to strengthen the Calcutta Madrasa and the Benares Sanskrit College, and to establish new Orientalist colleges elsewhere. The two Sanskrit centres held in view had been Nadia and Tirhut. But these were given up after 1819. English Orientalists, including Professor H. H. Wilson, urged the establishment of a Sanskrit College in Calcutta. Bengalis who had tasted the sweets of English education were wholly opposed to the idea. This is what Ram Mohan Roy wrote (1823) to Government in protest.

RAM MOHAN ROY'S PROTEST AGAINST SANSKRIT EDUCATION

"We find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu Pandits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to their possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since then produced by speculative men such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India."

TRADITIONAL LEARNING *VERSUS* MODERN NEEDS

The Sanskrit language, he pointed out, was so difficult that almost a life-time was required for its acquisition. "The learning, concealed under this almost impervious veil," wrote Ram Mohan Roy, "is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it." If it was necessary to perpetuate the language, it would be better to subsidise Pandits, who existed in all parts of the country, with premiums and allowances than to establish a new Sanskrit

College. He then proceeded to discuss the futility of the traditional learning in Sanskrit *Vyakarana*, *Nyaya Shastra*, or *Vendanta*. "Nor will youths," he said, "be fitted to be better members of society by the Vedantic doctrines which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence, that as father, brother, etc. have no actual entity, they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better."

CLAIMS OF SCIENCE

To supply positive advice as a sequel to this negative criticism, Roy thus advocated the claims of modern Science. "The Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep the country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sums proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning, educated in Europe and providing a College furnished with necessary books, instruments, and other apparatus."

HINDU COLLEGE HOUSED WITH SANSKRIT COLLEGE

The controversy was temporarily settled by a compromise. It was decided to have a Sanskrit College in Calcutta with the aid of Government funds, but to house it with the Hindu College, which was without a permanent home of its own, in a single building. The Hindu College owed its existence to private, *i. e.*, non-government enterprise, and was financed by public subscriptions independent of Government. Under the new scheme there was, in the minds of the promoters of the Hindu College, some legitimate anxiety lest it should pass under Government control, but it was explained that Government only wanted supervision in respect of the funds which they gave. Professor H. H. Wilson was appointed to the Joint Committee, and David Hare attended almost daily to look after the Hindu College proper. The Government gave Rs. 1,24,000 for the College building, and Hare gave his own land, on the north side of College Square. The foundation stone of the new building was laid on the 25th February 1824, as the inscription records, by the Provincial Grand Master of the Fraternity of Free Masons in Bengal, "in the presence of a numerous assembly of the Fraternity, and the President and Members of the Committee of General Instruction."

ORIENTAL SEMINARY, AN ORTHODOX COLLEGE

Meanwhile the Oriental Seminary was founded in 1823. It was designed on more orthodox lines than the Hindu College, but was equally intended to provide English education. Its existence was due to the energy of a single individual, Babu Gour Mohan Auddy, and its funds came entirely from Indian sources.

ORTHODOX PAPERS AND SOCIETIES

Hindu orthodoxy was not content to let the progressives monopolise public attention. The orthodox paper *Chandrika* was started in 1821. It defended *Sati*; it supplied its readers with news of the marvels, which the orthodox delighted in and the progressives scoffed at; and in its advocacy of the reading of the Vedas through paid professors and scholars, it had the support of Dwarkanath Tagore. It worked hand-in-hand with the Dharma Sabha, a society for the defence of the Hindu Religion.*

EFFECTS OF WESTERN LEARNING

The new wine of western learning was not long in producing its ferment. In trying to keep the minds of Hindu students from the influence of Christian missionaries, the promoters of the Hindu College found themselves faced with another difficulty. Among the most distinguished teachers on the staff of the Hindu College in its early days, was that precocious Eurasian poet and philosopher, H. L. V. Derozio (1809-1831). At the age of eighteen he became a teacher in the Hindu College. He was a sceptic. The Committee of the College were alarmed by the new spirit among the students, which found expression in such cries as "Down with Hinduism! Down with orthodoxy!" They requested the teachers to "abstain from any communication on the subject of the Hindu religion with the boys," and forbade them to "suffer any practices inconsistent with Hindu notions of propriety," especially in matters of eating and drinking. In 1831 Derozio was forced to resign his position, and he died of cholera a few months afterwards. To combat the irreligion which was creeping in, the Scottish Missionaries under Dr. Duff established the Presbyterian College in Calcutta in 1833 (General Assembly's Institution), whose success led to similar institutions in other towns in India. Dr. Duff's College in Calcutta and Dr. John Wilson's College in Bombay had a far wider scope than Bishop's College (Church of England), founded in Calcutta in 1820. The further religious developments in Bengal we shall consider later. But it is important to note that the leaven of English education was already working in Bengali society in Calcutta long before Macaulay's minute of 1835, in a college which began with voluntary effort, but which, as Presidency College, has continued to exert a powerful influence on Indian thought to the present day. In February 1824 Bishop Heber attended a Darbar of the Governor-General, at which he found several Bengalis who "spoke English, not only fluently but gracefully."

**Calcutta Review*, vol. xiii (1850), pp. 157-159.

COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC INSTRUCTION: ITS PROGRAMME

We saw that the first direct Government grant for education was provided in the assignment of a lakh of rupees for this purpose in the East India Company's Charter of 1813. But very little was done to give effect to that suggestion. The first practical steps were taken in 1823, when the Committee for Public Instruction was appointed, and the arrears of the annual lack of rupees were credited to them as from the 1st of May 1821. The programme and policy of the Committee may be referred to the five heads:—

(1) The project of the Sanskrit Colleges at Nadia and Tirhut was to be abandoned, and a Sanskrit College was to be established in Calcutta.

(2) The Hindu College, whose inauguration with private funds we have reviewed in some detail,

and which taught English literature and English science, was to be improved. We saw how it got housed in one building with the Sanskrit College, and eventually absorbed it.

(3) Two new Colleges were to be established in Delhi and Agra for the study of Oriental literature. They were established before Lord Amherst left India in 1828. But the demand for English education asserted itself in these centres also, and the English colleges have thriven and recently become universities while the oriental institutions have quietly faded from memory. In 1827 English classes were proposed for the Sanskrit College at Benares and the Calcutta Madrasa. In fact a seperate "English Seminary" was opened in Benares in 1830, and the Sanskrit College became an Anglo-Sanskrit College after 1848. Similarly the Madrasa in Calcutta gradually became an Anglo-Oriental institution. Both these institutions still remain predominantly oriental in character, but their influence on the general life of the country is small.

(4) Sanskrit and Arabic books were to be printed on a large scale to help the education movement. This part of the programme was an unqualified failure, as we shall see presently.

(5) Accomplished Orientalist scholars were to be employed for translating European scientific works into Arabic and Oriental languages. This was a costly failure. The translations cost 16 rupees per page. Neither students nor teachers could understand them, and it was proposed to employ the translator as interpreter of his own writings, at a further expense of 300 rupees per month.

LASSICAL ORIENTAL EDUCATION FAILED: DEMAND FOR ENGLISH

The Committee's report of December 1831 is an intructive document, and shows what a strong stream they ere breasting in bolstering up classical oriental education.

The demand was all for English education. "A command of the English language" they say, "and a familiarity with its literature and science have been acquired to an extent rarely equalled by any schools in Europe. A taste in English has been widely disseminated, and independent schools...are springing up in every direction." The School Book Society's English books sold tot he number of 31,000 in two years while there was so little demand for the Education Committee's Arabic and Sanskrit books that three years' sales did not pay the expense of storing them for two months, to say nothing of the printing expenses. Oriental learning did not pay in a worldly sense, and students had to be hired or bribed to undertake it. English education meant posts under the Government, and became the fashion not only in Calcutta, but all over the mufassal.

POLICY OF 1835 NOT A NEW POLICY, BUT A RECOGNITION OF THE STRONG DEMAND FOR ENGLISH

This background to the picture must be borne in mind if we wish to estimate justly the significance of the policy definitely enunciated in 1835. It was not a new policy. It was the culmination of an urge from the middle classes of the people themselves. The Muslims were too stupefied by the loss of their power to have any appetite yet for clerkships or subordinate positions under Government. The impetus of the Hindu urge was all the greater because it gave them a new status. In other countries, as pointed out by the first Sir Charles Trevelyan in his history of Indian education, middle-class youth are readily absorbed in what are called the gentlemanly professions,—the church, medicine, trade or commerce, manufactures, engineering, university professorships, the law, or the army or navy. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the prizes in these professions were either not open to Indians or the professions themselves were confined to special castes or classes, or, in the forms in which they had been practised in Indian society, were held in low estimation. Indian youth therefore flocked readily into clerical service, and some of them, like Ram Mohan Roy (afterwards Raja Ram Mohan Roy), made a position for themselves in independent public life after retirement from Government service.

HOW ENGLISH AS A COMMON LANGUAGE OF INDIA CHANGED INDIA'S OUTLOOK

The emphatic announcement in 1829 that English was to be the official language in India made English education inevitable. In a letter from the Government (Persian Department) to the Committee of Public Instruction, dated 26th June 1829 occurs the sentence: "It is the wish and admitted policy of the British Government to render its own language gradually and eventually the language of public business throughout the country." This sounded the death knell of Persian as the official language. It gave an impetus to English education in the higher grades, but as English was an entirely foreign language, it necessitated the cultivation of Urdu, Bengali, and the other vernaculars for the people at large. The people of India ceased to possess officially an oriental language as a common language. The cultivation of English as a common language began, however, gradually to change the mentality and outlook of the intellectual classes, and created new desires, new ideals, new fashions, new standards, and new ambitions in all spheres of life.

WHY ENGLISH TOOK QUICKER HOLD IN CALCUTTA THAN UPCOUNTRY

And yet the passion for English education, so pronounced in Calcutta, spread but slowly to the upper Provinces. The reason why it was so pronounced in Calcutta was also the reason why it was absent in (say) a town like Fatehgarh, in what are now called the United Provinces. The English-educated clerk in Calcutta at once got a good post, either under the Government or in the various mercantile or shipping offices in Calcutta. There was no such opening in Fatehgarh, and the demand was for traditional and religious learning for the select few. "At present," wrote Mr. Shore, Judge of Fatehgarh in 1834, "few if any would learn English, as long as it leads to no office or emolument."* He tells the somewhat depressing story of Mufti Waliullah's local College. The Mufti built a handsome building and endowed it with some funds. He wanted Government assistance for carrying it on, and the local committee recommended such assistance. The distant Committee of Public Instruction in Calcutta took no interest. Their limited funds were barely sufficient for Calcutta, and Calcutta was all for English education. Their horizon was almost limited to Calcutta.

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*India Office Records: Home Miscellaneous: Correspondence of the Hon. Frederick John Shore, Judge of Fatehgarh; No. 790. pp. 199-202.

MACAULAY'S VIEWS

English education had been the subject of much discussion and much difference of opinion in the Committee of Public Instruction. The Orientalists, and under their head the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Royal Asiatic Society, naturally looked at the proposal as leading to something incongruous with the eastern mind. The vested interests considered the growth of an Indian *intelligentsia* educated in English as dangerous to the permanence of British rule. The scale was turned in favour of English by the arrival of Lord Macaulay on the scene. He landed in Madras as the new Law Member (under the Charter of 1833) in June 1834. He became the President of a reconstituted Committee of Public Instruction. He viewed the question from a fresh English standpoint, on the one hand despising Oriental learning and on the other hand willing to extend the benefits of what he considered his superior civilisation to the people of India. With his Liberal ideas, he brushed aside the argument about political danger to English supremacy, which he would rather risk than keep Indians enslaved in what he regarded as superstitions. In his Education Minute of the 2nd February 1835 he harked back to two historical instances (the European Renaissance and the case of Russia) "of a great impulse given to the mind of a whole society—of prejudice overthrown—of knowledge diffused—of taste purified—of arts and sciences planted, in countries which had recently been ignorant and barbarous." He applied the analogy to India, and recommended education in English in his own forceful and picturesque language.

STATE FUNDS TO BE DEVOTED TO ENGLISH EDUCATION ALONE

The result was the Government Resolution of the 7th March 1835. It decided that state funds were thenceforth to be devoted to English education alone. Oriental schools need not be abolished, if they attracted any attendance. But students were not to be supported in such schools during the period of their education. All funds were to "be henceforward employed in imparting to the native population knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language." By this resolution Government put itself at the head of the movement for English education, and it stopped the flow of public funds to Oriental classical education. As we saw, the tide for English education had been already flowing strong in British territory before Government recognised it. Even in territory not then British, such as the Punjab, Sir Charles Trevelyan notes in 1838 that the higher classes were demanding English education. It was not merely a question of teaching a language. It was a question of teaching new knowledge, new ways of thought, new attitudes to life, religion, politics, and government. These last implications were in the mind of Macaulay. But they were not clearly before those who worked the educational machinery, and they acted unequally in different directions, and at an unequal pace, thus creating tragic problems for new generations a century afterwards.

EDUCATION OF THE HIGHER CLASSES

Among the questions taken up now were: the education of land-holders through wards of Government, legal and medical education, and mass education through the vernaculars. The upper classes had been comparatively backward in education after the advent of the English, and special measures have had to be taken to attract them to the new and changing order in India.

LEGAL EDUCATION MODERNISED

As the legal machinery extended its scope, the secular lawyer class increased, which studied British enactments and British procedure. From February 1835 the English language was allowed to be used in the Courts of Bengal, with Persian and Bengali, in pleadings and proceedings, thus leading up to the growth of Indian lawyers trained not only in English but in English law and procedure. This process was completed with the promulgation of the great Codes, (the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure), which were begun by Macaulay, but did not become law until after the Mutiny. The establishment of the High Courts in 1861 put legal education on a still higher plane.

MEDICAL EDUCATION MODERNISED

The process of modernisation and Anglicisation in medical education was also by successive stages. The Native Hospital of Calcutta was founded and maintained by public subscription and government grant as early as 1792, and in Adam's Report on vernacular education we read of a medical school carried on in Hindustani in Calcutta about 1807. Dr. Tyler was appointed anatomical lecturer in the Sanskrit College in 1838, with Pandits to assist him, and sub-assistant surgeons were trained through the vernaculars. The Calcutta Medical College, established in 1835, definitely took up medical education in English. David Hare assisted in its foundation and worked as its secretary from 1837 to 1841. The cholera epidemics of the second and third decades of the nineteenth century and the needs of the large numbers of men under arms in Lord Hastings's Central India Campaigns had called attention to the scanty medical facilities, and with the introduction of general English Education, modern medical education began to make rapid progress. The Grant Medical College, in Bombay, with its fine botanical garden, was established in 1845. In 1844 two Hindu students from the Calcutta Medical College were sent to England to complete their medical education in London, financed by the liberality of Dwarka Nath Tagore,* who may be considered to have been the founder of European education for Indian students.

DAVID HARE: HIS PERSONALITY

The splendid and unselfish work done by David Hare in fostering the early stages of Indian education lends a great and abiding interest to his personality. His father was a watchmaker in London, and he was brought up in

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*Dwarka Nath Tagore was a wealthy philanthropist and reformer. He visited England more than once, and refused to perform the *Prayaschit* ceremony on his return to India. He lies buried in Kensal Green Cemetery in London. The *Prayaschit* ceremony is one of penance or expiation, in repudiation of any taints derived by a Hindu from foreign influences.

the same trade. He came to Calcutta in 1800 at the age of 25, and prospered so greatly that in sixteen years he retired with a modest competence. He did not return to his country, but gave the best years of his life to unpaid work for and in the country which had nourished him and which rightly keeps his name in remembrance as a true and devoted foster-son. From 1816 to the date of his death from cholera in Calcutta in 1842 he was a well-known and honoured figure. In his white jacket and old-fashioned gaiters he might have been seen in Calcutta going about from school to school, from meeting to meeting, from friend to friend, encouraging education, reconciling divergent views and interests, and using his own business experience to help new India to stand on its feet in public life. He was himself not a learned man, but his personality made him effective. With unassuming manners he freely mixed in Indian society in Calcutta. He shared in their amusements and *tamashas*, caressed their children, and presented them with toys. He won the good-will, affection, and confidence of Indians, and his service was effective because he loved them and did not boast either of his good work or of any "superior" civilisation or religion or morals which he brought to them. Of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Dwarka Nath Tagore he was a life-long friend and helper in the progressive causes which they had at heart. When Roy was in England in 1831, he made his home in London with David Hare's brothers, who were merchants, in Bedford Square, and one of the brothers accompanied him to Paris, where he dined with Louis Philippe, the "citizen King." When Roy went to Bristol in 1833 to die, he was accompanied by Miss Hare (a niece of David Hare), and the Hare family was represented at Roy's interment. In the foundation and development of the Hindu College, as we saw, he played a leading part, and he was no less zealous in promoting vernacular schools and vernacular literature. He subscribed freely for educational movements. He participated in the movements for a free Press and the right of free public meetings, as well as for jury trials in civil cases, and raised his voice on behalf of the Indian coolies in 1838 when abuses were discovered in connection with coolie emigration to Mauritius, which began in 1835. The record of his life is full of inspiration both for Indian and British lovers of India*

MASS EDUCATION THROUGH THE VERNACULARS

The question of mass education through the vernaculars was systematically taken up by Government much later than the question of English education. Missionaries and private enterprise, it is true, had addressed themselves to this question from the beginning, but the results were local mostly in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. The old village schools and Maktabs were fast decaying, in spite of valient efforts to stem the decay. It was obvious that sound practical knowledge could be given much more easily in the vernaculars than either in oriental classical languages or in English. The Court of Directors wrote in a Dispatch dated 18th February 1824, drafted by James Mill: "Our great end should be not to teach Hindu learning, but sound learning," and added that it would be waste of time to teach sciences as found in Oriental books. They did not necessarily rule out the vernaculars. Macaulay, in his Minute eleven years later, assumed that the vernaculars were not suitable for the purpose. His assumption could only have been justified even at that stage in the development of the vernaculars, as regards higher education in the sciences. Elementary instruction in modern medicine had already been given in Hindustani for some years. In the very first annual Report after the Government Resolution of 1835, the Committee of Public Instruction said: "We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed." This view was approved by Government.

DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE DELAYED WITH INJURY TO ARTS AND CRAFTS

The more correct view would have been that the imparting of *useful* knowledge through the vernaculars was the *immediate* object to which a *great part* of the Committee's efforts should have been directed. No official Committee could form a vernacular literature. Even the official efforts to encourage vernacular literatures have been failures. Vernacular literatures have grown and developed according to the genius and needs of the people who spoke the vernaculars and according to the enlarged view of literary standards which they acquired through liberal studies in many models, ancient and modern, English and oriental. That required time. But the diffusion of modern knowledge among the people at large was an immediate necessity, and that could only be done through the vernaculars. And it could have been done at once. The neglect of that duty caused great injury to many of our handicrafts and useful arts. Our artisans remained chained to traditional ways, while the world was moving in directions of which they were unaware. Their skill remained archaic and unmarketable, and our economic position began to deteriorate from day to day. The industrial system and the introduction of machinery were inevitable, but if we had had a moderately educated artisan class, ready to apply inherited skill to the new conditions, there would have been a simple and natural transition, instead of the ruin of the older generation before a new generation could take up the task in the new conditions.

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* See his Life, by Peary Chand Mittra.

REWARDS OF ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR EDUCATION

The disproportion between the attention given to English and vernacular education caused a good deal of dissatisfaction in educational circles. Lord Auckland, in a minute dated 29th November, 1839, referred to the subject and called attention to the necessity of providing good vernacular books. The media of instruction were clearly stated to be English and the vernaculars. But no comprehensive scheme for vernacular education was yet in being. English education began to fill the whole horizon, and the pupils of English schools continued to get more and more opportunities in the world. The Government of the first Lord Hardinge in a Resolution dated 10th October 1844 gave preference in first appointments to candidates educated in Government schools. As far as public services were concerned, therefore, the prizes went to those who had received English education. Vernacular education not only gave no material rewards. It led to no higher knowledge;

it did not introduce to the Indian mind the new useful knowledge which would have enabled our workers to transform their arts and industries, as happened in the next generation in Japan; and it was not systematised through the vast network of villages in rural India

THE RELATIONS OF THE ORIENTAL CLASSICS, URDU, HINDI, AND ENGLISH, IN THE UNITED PROVINCES

In the North-West Provinces (now included in the United Provinces) the question of Oriental classics as against English and as against the vernaculars was still agitating the public mind in 1846. Dr. J. R. Ballantyne, Principal of the Benares Hindu College, has some pertinent remarks in his Report for that year. With regard to the study of English the attitude of his Pandits and pupils was "by no means encouraging" until pecuniary inducements were offered through scholarships for the purpose. With regard to the vernaculars the question was complicated by the relations of Urdu and Hindi in these Provinces. Hindi (apart from poetry in Brij Bhasha) had not yet been standardised. Urdu was the official language, and the Lieutenant-Governor in his remarks on the Report considered it a practicable proposition that it should "become the general medium for acquiring and communicating information among all persons of superior eduation in this part of India." But in the end the general tendency of India as a whole to make English the language of superior education and higher culture prevailed in these Provinces also, and the relations between Urdu and Hindi were much altered during and since the Lieutenant-Governership of Sir Antony MacDonnell (1895-1901).

SYSTEMATIC VILLAGE EDUCATION: USEFUL KNOWLEDGE THROUGH VERNACULARS

The work of drawing up a plan for systematic village education was properly taken up by a provincial administration, the Government of the North-West Provinces under Mr. James Thomason. He was Lieutenant-Governor for the long period of ten years, 1843-1853. He had intimate first-hand knowledge of the people, and left his impress on the Provinces in revenue reform, the development of canals and communications, and popular education. In education his work was twofold. The foundation of the Rurki Engineering College in 1848 gave the Indian mind the opportunity of acquiring practical skill in the mechanical arts without undergoing an elaborate literary education in a foreign language. The scheme has been much expanded since, but its early beginnings, though modest, mark the commencement of technical education on right lines. His other great educational work was the introduction of a comprehensive scheme for village vernacular schools. He began his plans as soon as he became head of the Province. He confined instruction in English to the Colleges. He abolished the smaller English schools. The vernacular was used for teaching useful subjects like mensuration. In 1850 the scheme was extended to include agricultural education.

JAIL EDUCATION

He tried to reach all classes of the people, and in 1850-1 the educational experiment was tried in the jails of Agra and Mainpuri. "Nothing" said the Lieutenant-Governor "is so conducive to the improvement of discipline as Jail education." This was perhaps taking a narrow view of Jail education. Discipline was valuable while the prisoner was in jail; but it was an even more valuable service to reform him, and to give honourable means of livelihood in after-life, thus removing the temptations to crime from the paths of the waifs and strays of society. The useful character of the education made the experiment an immediate success. "The prevalent taste for mathematics" we read "has been seized upon in its practical bearing on land surveying, the mechanical arts, and mercantile transactions."

VILLAGE OR HALQABANDI SCHOOLS

The schools were grouped together in 1852 in circles of villages, and thus came to be called *Halqabandi* (circle) schools. They were financed by an educational cess, thus giving the proceeds of local taxation to local needs. Mr. Thomason did not live long enough to see the results of his system, as he died in harness in 1853. But it made a deep impression on his contemporaries, and was taken as a model by other Provinces. Lord Dalhousie, in paying tribute to his work on his death (Minute dated 25th October 1853) contrasted the utter failure of the system of vernacular education in Bengal with its conspicuous success in the North-West Provinces, and suggested its application to Bengal. Mr. Thornton (*Gazetteer*, IV. 186) was able to write in 1854 with reference to India as a whole:—

> "The Seminaries" (*i.e.* English educational institutions) wherein the higher studies are pursued may be pronounced to have been generally successful. In the attempts to improve and extend vernacular instruction, the British government, though equally zealous, has not been equally successful. The best results attained have been in the North-West Provinces, where the new revenue settlement, under which the rights of every individual interested in the land became matter of record, has afforded precisely the stimulus required. The desire to ascertain and to preserve their recognised rights, induces in the people a desire for the acquisition of the arts of reading, writing, arithmetic, and mensuration. A few other of the simpler elements of knowledge are found to be easily added; and perhaps no great number of years will elapse before the mass of the people in the provinces above named will be well instructed in those branches of knowledge which are more immediately necessary; while those who have advanced somewhat farther will not be few."

WHY THE UNITED PROVINCES PIONEERED VERNACULAR EDUCATION, BUT FELL BACK IN GENERAL EDUCATION

This was the optimistic official view. It has not been justified by later history. Though the North-Western Provinces (now in the United Provinces) were the first to inaugurate a system of vernacular education, they are still among the most backward provinces in India educationally. Their first apparent success was due to their meeting the immediate practical needs of the day, connected with Mr. Thomason's revenue and public works policy. Their failure was due to the fact that they failed to keep pace with advancing needs and to fit the people for the new conditions created after the Mutiny. Whereas the three Presidencies forged ahead with English education, and their three Universities, established in 1857, with the great careers opened out by means of English education, put their public men on the front of the stage, Allahabad had to wait for its University till 1887.

REACTION OF ENGLISH ON VERNACULAR EDUCATION

The reaction of English education on vernacular education has been profound. It accounts in a great measure for the immediate advance of the Bengali language and literature. English education can directly reach only a small proportion of the people of India, but its infilterting effects should be freely recognised. When Macaulay in 1835 wrote: "It is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people," and suggested the training of what he called a "class of interpreters," his instinct was true. That his idea mainly failed for three-quarters of a century was due to the fact that official English education in India remained a mere frame-work, without a soul. More recently, when it has become dynamic, its total inadequacy has been found out and it will take a long time to remedy the mischiefs arising out of that inadequacy. "The limited means" which Macaulay lamented only applied to the Central Government. The "cess" system, by which local education is financed from local resources has gone far to get over that difficulty. But the unsatisfactory quality of English education reacted on the quality of vernacular education. After the first spurt, vernacular education failed not only to feed the soul of India, but to open up the practical trades and professions for the artisans and the middle class, or scientific agriculture for the peasants. It suffered therefore from a double handicap, and its influence in the making of India has been disappointingly small. A third handicap is the diversity of vernaculars even in one and the same Province. This has been accentuated rather than lightened in more recent times, and will require the earnest attention of all to whom the dream of a united nation is a valuable ideal to be worked for as an early possibility.

SIR CHARLES WOOD'S SCHEME, 1854

The educational review of the period may fitly be closed by a reference to Sir Charles Wood's great educational Dispatch of July 1854. It belongs to what has been called the "Palmerstonian period" of English history, when England was bubbling over with ideas of peace, prosperity, and the mission of England in the world. Sir Charles Wood was President of the Board of Control in the Coalition Ministry of the Earl of Aberdeen, which passed Mr. Gladstone's great social Budget of 1853. At the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1853 Sir Charles Wood had piloted a measure of Reform which had curtailed the power and patronage of the East India Company, created a provincial government for Bengal, and transformed the character of the Indian Civil Service from a close privileged body to a public service recruited by open competition in England. Lord Dalhousie did not think much of the refoım. He wrote in a private letter (July 23rd 1853): "The India Bill is a wretched thing... It has been sad bungling work from 1852 till now." All the same, the Government in England had wider ideas of education than the most zealous educationists in India. While Lord Dalhousie was helping Mr. Bethune in Calcutta to establish female education as an object of national importance, and placing girls' schools, like boys' schools, under the Government, and the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces was organising a complete system of village education, Sir Charles Wood prepared in London his celebrated Dispatch, which contained, in Lord Dalhousie's words, "a scheme of education for all India, far wider and more comprehensive than the Local or the supreme Government (in India) could have ventured to suggest." It was a symmetrical design, leading up from graded vernacular village schools, through Anglo-vernacular schools and high schools, to colleges and universities. It suffered a little from this very symmetry, for it left no rooms for a self-contained scheme of Secondary Education. The old indigenous schools, Hindu and Muslim, were also to be brought into the scheme by a system of grants-in-aid and their natural corollary, government inspection. Its aim may be summed up as the diffusion of European knowledge through all classes of the people in India by means of the English language in the high branches, and the vernaculars among the mass of the people. The outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857 delayed the completion of the scheme in Upper India. But the three Presidency Universities, at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were created by Statute in 1857. The Department of Public Instruction was organised in 1855, to meet the needs of this national educational policy. This Department took the place of the Council of Education, which had replaced the old Committee of Public Instruction in 1842-3, but had dealt chiefly with higher education in English and the vernacular. With the general movement in modern education came the Calcutta School of Arts in 1854, which was taken over by the Government in 1864. This was the precursor to the Arts Schools in other Provinces. Art Education was further strengthened and extended under Lord Northbrook (1872-6).

CHAPTER VI

NEW FORCES IN RELIGION AND LITERATURE, 1818-57

HOW LAW AFFECTED RELIGION

The religious life and thought of a nation are necessarily affected by changes in its education and in its economic and social environment. However much we may guard our inner life as a sort of shrine inaccessible to outside influences, these influences must penetrate as the sun penetrates through the scanty openings in a Gothic cathedral. The British Government in India had from the beginning pledged themselves to strict neutrality in religion, and in the law which they applied to Indians they sought to ascertain the religious laws and usages of the country. But when they came to reduce these to precision, they found more than one system cherished both under the names of Hindu and Muslim law, and further they found many deviations from any given system, arising from local, family, or tribal custom, which they recognised and enforced. As the Courts came more and more under the influence of English law, the spheres in which Hindu and Muslim law were enforced came to be more and more narrowly defined. These religious laws themselves became crystallised under the labels of various recognised schools and under the influence of recorded decisions by British Courts from time to time. Legislative authority also began to work actively in India and created a whole body of general law, criminal, civil, constitutional and commercial, as well as codes and rules of procedure—all based upon English law as modified by the conditions of India. The only fields in which, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the religious and personal law continued to be enforced were: family relations (including marriage, divorce, caste, adoption, etc.), succession and inheritance, and certain questions connected with religious and charitable endowments, guardianship, gifts, and preemption. It should be noted, however, that even where Hindu or Muslim law is professedly enforced, it is not pure Hindu or Muslim law, but such law, as understood and interpreted by the Anglo-Indian Courts, and in the last resort, by the Privy Council of England. It may well be called Anglo-Hindu or Anglo-Muslim law.

SOCIAL, LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS OF THE WEST

Apart from legislative or judicial influence on religious life and thought, the cultural influences, due to the social institutions and the literary and philosophical thought of the west, have been profound. They would even have been greater if the interpretation of Hindu and Muslim law had not been fossilised by the Courts in the spheres in which they were allowed to act. Education was a great solvent to the ideas that had grown up and been held unquestioned for centuries. This process acted in two ways. Many practices and ideas had grown up both among Hindus and Muslims, which were not sanctioned, or which were even opposed to the ancient teaching of their faiths. An accurate and scholarly study of the older books helped to dispel the errors and innovations, and to restore the purity of the earliest teaching. This was facilitated by the light thrown on our history from outside—by scholars and men of affairs who judged by canons which did not appeal to close corporations of teachers who had created vested interests for themselves. But there was a second and even more important way. Our own thoughts and standards of life developed and we were enabled to extend the boundaries of our knowledge—to widen the horizon in which we placed older schemes of thought.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES

What were the influences brought by the new rulers during this period? The Christian missionaries were allowed after 1813 to preach and teach in British India. Before that date they had done so indirectly, but had produced no impression on the religions of the people, although, in the matter of secular education, their influence and their services had been of the highest value. After 1813, not only was Christian religious teaching given by non-official missionaries, but Bishops and Archdeacons were appointed, with State salaries, to superintend the army Chaplains. Among the Bishops so appointed, the most notable early figure was Bishop Heber, who was in India from 1823 to 1826. His *Journal* shows that he performed his journeys and his duties in a missionary spirit. His predecessor had established Bishop's College in Calcutta and his successors have sometimes claimed that Indian Bishops have a semi-missionary character. But it cannot be claimed, in spite of a number of noble and devoted men who have served the missionary cause in India for over a century, that their direct influence on Indian religion has been remarkable.

SECULAR INFLUENCES

It must be remembered that the atmosphere of British society in India has, on the whole, not been religious but secular. This was even more so in the early days than it is now. And it is these non-religious and sometimes anti-religious British influences that have acted far more powerfully on the mind and character of India—for good and for ill—than the direct Christian influences. It is difficult to appraise the value of political and humanitarian movements on the religious progress of British India. But there is no doubt that a non-religious personality like that of David Hare, about whom we spoke in the last chapter, or of a freethinker like Bradlaugh or a Theosophist like Mrs. Besant, who came on the scene much later, has penetrated far deeper into the hearts and emotions of the people and awakened heartier responses.

FREEMASONRY

Freemasonry has been a factor in bridging over the racial and social gulf, and was certainly closely identified with the early English education movement in India. Freemasonry established itself in India long before the intercourse of British and Indians as fellow-subjects could be thought of. It would seem that a Masonic Lodge (English Constitution) was opened in Bengal as early as 1728-30, which is remarkable, considering that the early authentic history of Freemasonry from records, in England itself, begins only in 1717. Roger Drake, Governor of Calcutta at the time of the Black Hole, was recorded to have filled the highest local Masonic offices before 1755. The first Lodge in Madras was opened in 1752 and in Bombay in

1758. In 1813, the *Calcutta Gazette* (31st July) informs us, the Freemasons of Calcutta drank the health of the new Governor-General in these terms: "That bright Luminary in the Masonic Constellation, the Earl of Moira, whose unremitted (*sic*) exertions for the benefit of Masonry render his name indelibly imprinted on the heart of every Brother of the Craft." Educational institutions for Indians were actively countenanced by the Fraternity. We saw in the last chapter that the foundation-stone of the new building for the Hindu College in Calcutta was laid in 1824 by the head of Freemasonry in Bengal. Similarly the foundation-stone of the new building for the College in Benares was laid with Masonic honours (2nd November 1847) by His Highness the Raja of Benares and the Deputy Provincial Grand Master of the Masonic body in the North-Western Provinces. Since then Freemasonry has made great progress in India. Though its activities come little before the public, its influence on our cultural and social progress is not inappreciable. Most of the Lodges now have Indian members, men of influence in their society. At least one Lodge (in Hyderabad, Deccan) conducts its ceremonies in Urdu. Under the Grand Lodge of England, there are now about 200 Lodges in India, with an approximate membership of say 50 per Lodge;* and there are other Lodges, under the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland.

RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY: HIS EDUCATION AND HIS ATTACK ON IDOLATRY

The first and most striking leader of a new school of religious thought in British India was Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1774-1833)†. The impulse which he gave to Liberal religious thought still survives, though somewhat transformed, in the Brahmo Somaj. His own mind was formed under many influences. Quite early in his life he studied Arabic and Persian. Persian and Muslim learning in his day formed part of liberal education in Bengal.

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*For this paragraph I am indebted for some material to Mr. G. P. G. Hill, Librarian of the Grand Lodge of England.

†The date of birth, 1772, given in Buckland's Dictionary of Indian Biography seems to be incorrect. See Nicol Macnicol, *Making of Modern India*, p. 174.

He perfected his Sanskrit in Benares. Before he began the study of English, he had already launched at the age of fifteen his attack on idolatry in Bengali. His argument was that the popular cult of idolatry was not justified by the teaching of the Vedas. This was not a new discovery. Every Hindu thinker has recognised it. Among the early Muslim writers, Al-Biruni had clearly explained it in his book on India (1030-33) in the earliest days of the Muslim conquest. But young Ram Mohan proclaimed it with an impetuosity which cost him dear, for he was thrown as an exile from his home and his father. He studied English, French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and was thus in a position to study the scriptures of all the principal religions at first hand. He earned his living in Government clerical service, from which he retired at the age of thirtynine.

HIS WORK AND LATER LIFE

After this he lived in Calcutta, and began to develop and preach his eclectic religious ideas. He translated religious books from Sanskrit into Bengali and into English. He mixed with Englishmen like Hare and supported the movement for English education among the youth of Bengal. He was one of the founders of the Hindu College, as we saw, although he kept in the background, so that the Orthodox should not be prejudiced against the College on account of his heterodox views. His Bengali journal, the *Sambād Kaumudi* (1819), was among the earliest Bengali papers published by Bengalis. He took a lively interest in public questions and social reform, as we shall see later. He obtained the title of Raja from the Mughal Emperor in Delhi, who entrusted him with a mission to England, to press the pecuniary claims of the Emperor. The India Office* records contain papers about this mission, which has received little notice from his biographers. While he was in England (1831-3) he gave his views to the Select Committee of the House of Commons on public questions, when the renewal of the East India Company's Charter was under discussion in the Reform Bill year 1832. He went to live in Bristol in 1833, and died there of fever in September that year. He now lies buried in Arno's Vale Cemetery, just outside Bristol with a recently erected canopy like a Rajput Chhatri. But his first tomb was in the garden of the house where he died, where his Unitarian and other friends holding liberal religious views accorded him a dignified funeral. His memory is kept green by the annual visit of some Indian residents in England to Bristol and their reception by the Mayor and civic authorities of that town.

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* *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 708.

RELIGIOUS REFORM AS VIEWED BY DIFFERENT MINDS

Though the Raja's interests were many-sided, the passion of his life was religious reform. In the early days of the Hindu College and of English education there was undoubtedly a danger lest the youth of India should turn away from religion altogether, and the Christian missionaries stemmed this movement, but were unable to bring young India into the fold of Christianity. Ram Mohan Roy was not unfriendly to them, but when he denied the divinity of Christ in his *Precepts of Jesus* published in Bengali in 1820, the Serampur missionaries were angry and attacked him. A bitter controversy followed which threw Ram Mohan more and more back on Hinduism. Even Bishop Heber, who, according to his lights, was not narrow-minded, referred contemptuously to these "deistical Brahmins". But he looked down from the high stand-point of the established Church of England, both on the deists and on the non-conforming Christians like those of Serampur. This is what he wrote on the 16th December 1823: "Our chief hindrances are some deistical Brahmins, who have left their old religion, and desire to found a new sect of their own, and some of those who are professedly engaged in the same work with ourselves, the Dissenters. These last are, indeed, very civil and affect to rejoice at our success; but they, somehow or other, cannot help interfering, and setting up rival schools close to ours; and they apparently find it easier to draw off our pupils, than to look out for fresh and more distant fields of exertion and enterprise."*

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*Bishop Heber's *Journey*, iii. 247.

DEVELOPMENT OF ROY'S SYSTEM: ORIGIN OF THE BRAHMO SOMAJ

The controversy between Roy and the missionaries, carried on as it was in English, attracted considerable attention in Unitarian and Theistic circles in England and America. These circles felt much sympathy with Roy's movement and welcomed it. If there had been a modernised school of Islam in India in those days, it would no doubt have also welcomed Roy as approximating to their own creed. The Unitarians had only been released from penal laws themselves in England (1813,) and were not released from civil disabilities till 1828. In America the great Unitarian leader, W. E. Channing, was defending his faith by means of pamphlets about the same time that Roy was fighting his battles in India. After this Roy began to follow western methods. He began to organise. On the lines of a Unitarian Committee his scheme had no success. In 1828 he founded the Brahmo Somaj.* His ideas were embodied in a Trust Deed in 1830 "for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable, Immutable Being, who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe." This was a new method of worship in Hinduism. No images or sacrifices were to be allowed. But Roy retained his own Brahmanical sacred thread, and in practice the sacred, mystical *Gāyatri* was still the basis of worship. The Vedas were regularly read in a room practically inaccessible to Shudras, although the Trust Deed had spoken of "all sorts and descriptions of people." No form of worship venerated by other sects was to be reviled, and the preaching was to be such as to "strengthen the bonds of union between men of all religions, persuasions, and creeds." In the year the Trust Deed was executed, Roy left for England, from which (as we saw) he never returned.

MAHARSHI DEVENDRANATH TAGORE

In the hands of those whom he left behind in Calcutta the new body languished for twelve years, until Maharshi

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* In view of the later developments under Keshub Chunder Sen and the formation of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj, the latter deny that Roy's organisation was more than a Sabha, or place of meeting. They assert that the true Somaj or Brahmo religion was born later. See Dwija-das Datta, *Behold the Man*, Comilla (Bengal) 1930.

Devendranath Tagore (father of Rabindranath Tagore) took it up in 1842. The Trust Deed had left temporal affairs in the hands of Trustees, men of position and men of the world, who maintained the continuity of the movement from a secular point of view. The spiritual affairs were left in the hands of a "Resident Superintendent," (or Minister), who was to be under the Trust Deed "a person of good repute and well-known for his knowledge, piety, and morality." These, however, were not enough to foster in a new organisation the growth of new ideas. Devendranath (1817-1905) was a man of spiritual gifts. He had received his English education at the Hindu College. Although an uncle of his was a trustee under Ram Mohan Roy's Trust Deed, Devendranath was not brought up in a sectarian atmosphere. The Brahmo Somaj was then more a cult than a community. Devendranath in 1839 founded an independent Tatwabodhini Sabha (society for the teaching of truth), with a Bengali paper, the *Tatwa-Bodhini Patrika*, edited by Akhoy Kumar Datta. Devendranath became a fervid deist. At the second anniversary of the Sabha he said: "Owing to the spread of English education we cannot now, like ignorant people, offer worship to wood or stone, imagining them to be God." He joined the Brahmo Somaj in 1842, and began to undertake its revival from the lethargy into which it had fallen. Coming of a wealthy family he brought to it the advantages of a press and a journal. For himself he gave up the sacred thread, though he did not discard it for his youngest sons. The questions of caste and social reform were left undefined, as he did not wish to cut himself entirely adrift from Hindu society. The state of the law as it was then administered would have prevented legal recognition of his children's marriages as Hindus if he had cast off the time-honoured customs of Hinduism.

HIS DOCTRINES AND ORGANISATION

He developed doctrines on evolutionary lines, discarding the infallibility of the Vedas, and relying mainly on the religious sense within man to interpret his ideas of God. "I desire" he said "that all men, even the lowest, worship Brahma. I therefore decided to leave those who can worship by means of the *Gāyatri* free to do so. But those who cannot do that should be free to have recourse to any simple method of *giving themselves up to the contemplation of God.*" These last words sum up Maharshi Devendranath Tagore's idea of worship. Pilgrimages, ceremonials, and penances were discountenanced. The Maharshi lived a mystical, saintly life, somewhat isolated from the world. The vigour and passion of religious devotion were supplied by a younger man, Keshub Chunder Sen (1838-1884), who joined the Somaj in 1857. The work of the two was in many respects complementary, and while their co-operation lasted, they strove for the training of young Brahmos to take up and develop an active propaganda. Devendranath appointed him minister of the Calcutta Somaj, and Keshub invested Devendranath with the title of "Maharshi" (Saint). But Keshub's zeal wanted to outstrip the Maharshi's conservatism, and in 1865 they parted company. Divisions took place in the Brahmo Somaj, which will be noticed in the story of the next period.

OTHER MOVEMENTS

With the introduction of English education, the discussion of religion had been fashionable among the educated youth of Bengal. In later days, when journalism, law and politics became more absorbing interests, the zeal for religious enquiry and reform cooled down, but there were always short-lived societies and papers started for the advocacy of new ideas. One such society is noted in the *Calcutta Review,** which somewhat anticipated the Theosophical Society of later times. It was called the Hindu Theophilanthropic Society, established in Calcutta in February 1843, for promoting the love of God and the love of man. It published a few Bengali tracts, some Sanskrit and Bengali works, and also English essays and reports.

ORTHODOX HINDUISM

Nor must we suppose that the great Orthodox Hindu community, though silent, was wholly unconcerned in the movements going on around it. Kashi Prashad Ghose, who was opposed to social and religious reforms, started the Dharma Sabha in 1838. Orthodox Hindu society supported an orthodox paper, the *Sambād Timira Nāshak* as a counter-blast to Raja Ram Mohan Roy's *Sambād Kaumudi*, started in 1819. Orthodox Hinduism spoke with no uncertain voice whenever time-honoured customs were attacked, and it always put a constriction on public events favourable to itself. A good example is provided by the distinguished educationist Radha Kant Deb (afterwards Raja Bahadur Sir Radha Kant Deb), a descendant of Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur, of the days of Clive. He had a good knowledge of English and lived a good deal with Europeans. He was Secretary of the Calcutta School Society and author of several books in Sanskrit and Bengali. Heber wrote of him on the 8th March 1824: "With all this he is believed to be a great bigot in the religion of his country's gods—one of the few sincere ones, it is said, among the present race of wealthy Baboos. When the meeting was held by the Hindu gentlemen of Calcutta, to vote an address of thanks to Lord Hastings on his leaving Bengal, Radha Kant Deb proposed an amendment that Lord Hastings should be particularly thanked for the protection and encouragement he had afforded to the ancient and orthodox practice of widows burning themselves with their husbands' bodies,—a proposal which was seconded by Hari Mohan Thakur, another wealthy Babu. It was lost, however, the cry of the meeting, though all Hindus, being decidedly against it. But it shows the warmth of Radha Kant Deb's prejudices."

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* Vol. ii, (No. 3. Oct. 1844), pp. 266-277.

MUSLIM RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS: SAIYID AHMED BARELAVI

The religious sentiment among the Muslims had also fallen into a state of lethargy. The community as a whole had yet been little touched by English education, and the disuse of Persian as an official language had also lowered the general level of culture among them. Many of their old Foundations for the study of Arabic were now without funds, or decaying because the funds had been wrongly diverted to other uses. The loss of political power had embittered their souls. The alliance of the Company with Ranjit Singh, which increased the aggressive power of the Sikhs in the Panjab at the same time that the Afghans were torn by internal dissensions, gave rise to a political movement which had also, as its counterpart, a religious movement in Islam. The political movement was led by Saiyid Ahmad, of Bareli, who opened a Jihād against the Sikhs in 1826. He captured Peshawar from them in 1829. But his followers did not sustain his early successes, and he died fighting in Balakot, Hazara, in 1831. The Saiyid was not merely a fanatical soldier. He had strong views about religious reform, in which he had ardent followers as well as violent critics and opponents. He stood for Puritanical reform in Muslim manners, customs, and practices, and wished to sweep away the superstitions and innovations which had sapped the purity and vigour of Islam. After studying under famous theologians in Delhi, he travelled with a large following through India in 1820-4, preaching and gathering disciples. In his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1822 he no doubt came into contact with the Wahhabi movement in Arabia. Though Abd-ul-Wahhab had died in 1791, the first widespread successes of the movement had been won under the Ibn Sa'ud family of Central Arabia about 1802 to 1818. The movement did not die, though for a century afterwards it remained pent up in Nejd, obtaining its release again as a pan-Arabian force after the World War of 1914-18.

URDU TRANSLATION OF THE QURAN

Saiyid Ahmad Barelavi's name became famous because of his fighting career. The leaders of the cultural movement were the theologians whose disciple he was, and the pupils who wrote books and engaged in controversies after him. Among his Masters was Maulāna Shah 'Abdul 'Azīz Muhaddis, of Delhi, who died in 1824. He wrote a Commentary on the Qurān, called *Tafsir Fath ul 'Aziz* which obtained great vogue among the learned of his time. His brother, Maulāna 'Abdul Qādir Dehlavi (died 1826), wrote an Urdu translation of the Qurān, with a commentary, which he completed in 1803. Muslim public opinion did not yet approve of translations of the Qurān into the vernacular. But the movement which his disciples carried on with so much zeal aimed at enlightening the ignorance of the Muslim masses. With that object in view, public preaching, disputations with their opponents in the vernacular, and the newly-introduced art of printing were freely employed. The translation was published in 1822 by Saiyid Abdullah, a prominent disciple of Saiyid Ahmad. I have seen a copy of the second edition published at Calcutta in 1829. It is printed with moveable type, not lithographed. The text is in Arabic (Naskh) type, the interlinear Urdu translation is in Persian (Nastaliq) type, as is also the marginal Urdu Commentary. The Nastaliq type is of poor quality, and never established itself in favour.

KARAMAT ALI: MASS PROPAGANDA IN EASTERN BENGAL

The most prominent literary apostle of the movement was a disciple of Saiyid Ahmad, Maulvi Karamat Ali, of Jaunpur (died 1873). His work was largely carried on in Urdu, and in Eastern Bengal, where the Muslims were very ignorant, and where he produced a deep impression by his energetic propaganda. Another ardent disciple was the Delhi poet, Mumin Khan Mumin (1800-1851). He, however, remained in his narrow circle of Delhi poets. Though he wrote some religious poetry, it was not of a dynamic character. Karamat Ali wrote no poetry, but had a vigorous though colloquial prose style. His energetic religious propaganda in Eastern Bengal stirred the Muslim masses and was a factor in the cultural evolution of Muslim Bengal. His task was twofold. He tried to combat the superstitions that had crept into the practices of Islam; and he waged a vigorous literary war against certain new heterodox schools of thought, many of whose "ignorant," erring members he brought back into the fold. He was interested in the relations of Islam to the wider questions of the world, and competed for a prize offered by Sir Charles Trevelyan for the best Hindustani essay on the influence of the Greeks and Arabs on the European Renaissance. His School is sometimes confounded with the Wahhabi sect, but he expressly disowns Wahhabi doctrines, upholds the orthodox and the Sufi schools, and relies on the authority of certain traditions, which the

Wahhabis rejected. His reform consisted in accepting Saiyid Ahmad Barelavi as one of the Renewers of the Faith, under the doctrine that a Renewer of the Faith is born in every thousand years of Islam. He was a good calligraphist, but his early works (from 1824-1840) were printed with moveable types. He was a prolific prose writer.*

DEVELOPMENT OF MARSIYA AND DRAMATIC LITERATURE

While the religious field was still mainly held by the Orthodox, the literary horizon was already expanding. The glories of Bengali literature were yet to come in the next period, but the seeds were already being sown. It was in Urdu literature that the milieu of Lucknow gave a chance to two literary forms which had never flourished so well before in India. As a kingdom culturally independent, Oudh was not yet overrun with the flood of foreign influence. In the department of the Marsiya, the Shiā faith of its rulers opened new avenues of work in which earnestness and religious belief rescued poetry from barren insincerity and formalism. In the Drama the concord between Muslims and Hindus produced in Urdu a form which reflected the national traditions of Hindu art at the same time that it produced new effects by the mingling of music and dancing with poetry as in western opera.

WHY THE MARSIYA FLOURISHED IN LUCKNOW: ANĪS AND DABĪR

The two great names in the Marsiya literature of Urdu poetry are Anīs and Dabīr. Though they lived on long after the disappearance of the kingdom of Oudh, their best work was produced under that kingdom. It is scarcely conceivable that its foundations could have been laid in any other soil, though the impulse once started continued in operation to the end of their lives. Anīs lived from 1801 to 1874 and Dabīr from 1803 to 1875. They were thus close contemporaries from beginning to end. They were also rivals in literary fame. It is certain that that rivalry sharpened their wit and awoke their originality, though the

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*See my article on Karamat Ali at pp. 752-4, vol. II, *Encyclopaedia of Islam.* I have there given a bibliography about him and a list of his works.

followers of each fanatically belittled the work of the other. Maulana Shibli in his critical review of the two poets tries to hold the balance even between them. Great though his authority is in Urdu literature, it is permissible to point out that he misses the real significance of these poets. It is not enough merely to examine critically their style, their similes and metaphors, their command of language, their graphic powers of description, and their ability to soar high in imagination. They both introduced a dramatic aptness in narrative poetry. And their drama was not mere make-believe, nor their poetry merely a fine exercise of rhetoric. They did not write merely to be read in court circles. They believed in the noble drama of religious martyrdom, which they described from many points of view. Their address was to the multitude, both learned and unlearned, assembled in solemn religious seances, full of devout faith. They themselves read their verses in flowing narrative, face to face with their audiences. The depth and earnestness of their voice, its artistic beauty and effectiveness, and the easy dignified flow of the narrative through the minds of their hearers, were all factors in their success. Sincerity was demanded and supplied abundantly both in the poet and his living audience quivering with religious emotion. This was very different from the artificial atmosphere in which so much over-refined Urdu poetry had been produced, and the hyper-critical court audiences which had applauded words and conceits rather than human pictures which lighted up a living faith.

HOW THEY LIFTED UP MARSIYA POETRY

Anīs and Dabīr were not the first Urdu writers of Marsiya. Garcin de Tassy* mentions Mir 'Abdullah Miskīn as having written popular Urdu Marsiyas, one of which was printed in Nāgrī characters in Calcutta in 1802. Illustrative quotations were taken from these by Dr. Gilchrist in his *Hindustani Grammar*. Marsiyas have always been common in Shia circles, but they rarely rose in poetical inspiration above the level of devotional songs for particular congregations. Anīs and Dabīr lifted them up to heights of narrative and lyrical poetry which have been appreciated by men of all religions. There was nothing abstruse about them, and their dramatic narrative appealed to the unlearned crowd as much as their artistic form appealed to lovers of pure poetry. Indeed, one criticism of them among religious people was, like the criticism of the Oratorios in some Catholic circles, that they diverted solemn thoughts to mere artistic pleasure. Yet they were listened to when they were composed, they have been read always, and they still command wide popularity, both when read and recited, among men and women of all classes. Their treatment of religious subjects was human. From the shroud of religious mystery they came out to speak of sorrows and sufferings, nature and human affection, as seen in the lives and relationships of men, but heightened by religious exaltation.

**Histoire de la Litterature Hindoustanie*, II. 333-4.

ANĪS'S DESCRIPTIONS: MORNING IN THE CAMP OF THE SPIRITUAL KING

As the Marsiya is only one out of the many themes we have to consider, we shall content ourselves with a few illustrative quotations from only one of these poets, Anīs. The description of the morning is a favourite theme with him. Though it occurs frequently it is described in different terms on each occasion. As in Wagner's music, there is an underlying *motif* in each description: it prepares us for the narrative to which it is an introduction. Just before a description of the glorious camp of Imām Husain and his own personality as that of a spiritual king, the break of the morning is described in a picture of a royal city opening its gates:—

When the Sun did raise
  The veil of night from his face,
The gates of the morning were opened,
  And closed were the gates of darkness:
Each star rendered up
  Its own nightly account,
And the Dawn like an accountant
  Turned another page of its ledger;
The splendour on the face of the moon
  Became pale in heaven;
The King of East and West
  Now reigned acknowledged.

MORNING THAT THE MARTYRS WERE CUT OFF FROM THE WATER SUPPLY

The morning of the day when the Imām and his little band were cruelly cut off from their water supply is thus described, in contrast to the abundance and beauty of water in nature:—

Such was the arrival of the Sun,
  Such the happy morning,
Its very brightness whirled
  The peacock of the sky into a dance;
The very stars were jealous
  Of the light on the drops of water;
In the midst flowed the Euphrates
  Like a veritable Milky Way.
On every tree and its dewdrop, shone
  The light as from the summit of Sinai,
As if the heavens themselves poured out
  In abundance a shower of light.

And yet, runs the argument, simple drinking water was denied to the holy man and his family.

NO WEALTH BETTER THAN A SON'S LOVE

Family affections are thus described in the scene introducing the martyrdom of the Imām's eldest son: the freshness of youth and the solace of old age are hit off in happy metaphors:—

There's no wealth in the world
  Better than a son's (love);
There's no delight in the world
  Better than the delight of the heart;
There's no taste better
  Than the taste of delicate ripening fruit,
Nor in fragrance is aught better
  Than a flower young and fresh.
In affliction this is the cure
  Of the heart that is wounded;
This is the balm and the basil,
  The essence and the wine.

LOVE AND SACRIFICE

That son describes the motive for the sacrifice of his life: the simile about the poverty of worldly wealth and the richness of spirit in self-sacrifice is blended with the idea that this richer wealth is to be had for the asking:—

That man is dead in life,
  Who hath not the love of God;
That man is mere stone
  Who has tasted not the sweets of Love;
Gold and precious stones are as dust;
  They will not endure;
Here is wealth being scattered,
  That will endure for ever.
Thus are the lowly exalted,
  Thus do beggars gain plenty;
He indeed is the Lord of Fortune
  To whose lot falls this wealth.

POET'S PERSONALITY AND VARIETY OF THEMES

The impressive personality of Anīs, his wonderful voice and manner, which gave an interpretation to his own recitation, and the poetic inspiration which was hereditary in his family, have, combined with the parallel genius of Dabīr, given us in literature this unique gift of the Marsiya in Urdu poetry. They extended their canvas until it covered all experiences of life known to them. Their faith ensured the quality of sincerity. Scenes of nature, scenes of domestic life, heroic deeds of valour against odds, praise of the warrior's horse and sward, gentle musings on duty, conscience, humility, love, loyalty between friends and associates, and a thousand other themes of the most varied nature are reviewed in easy-flowing verse with the dignity and the richness of epic poetry. When the living stimulus which had led two men of genius in Lucknow to embrace such a vast variety of life in their poetry, ceased to act, the Marsiya sank back, in the hands of lesser men, to conventional standards which interested only limited circles of men instead of the whole literary world.

HINDUSTANI DRAMA

The Hindustani Drama had a different past, and has had a different future. Before the days of Amānat (flourished 1840-57) it scarcely existed in its Urdu form. When it was once established, it took root and gathered strength from other traditions and associations. Though no remarkable works of genius have been produced in it, it has established stage traditions, and numerous companies tour round India and sometimes even outside India to countries where the Hindustani language has some vogue.

The Parsis of Bombay, although their vernacular is not Hindustani, have shown great capacity in theatrical organisation and management, and at the present day many of the successful Urdu dramatists are employed and financed by Parsi companies acting in towns of Upper India. It is therefore interesting to examine Amānat's pioneer work.

WAJID ALI SHAH'S COURT

The Court of Wājid Ali Shah (1847-1856), whatever its faults in the political or administrative sphere, was a paradise for arts of all kinds. Poetry, instrumental music, dancing, song, and drama were lavishly patronised. There were Frenchmen and Italians in the Lucknow court, and they introduced French statuary and Italian paintings. These works, it is true, were not of the highest kind, and the statuary's art never caught on in Lucknow. But in the drama, especially in the form in which the acting is only incidental to the music, European impulse has been incorporated on the Indian stage. Opera is dramatised music. In a sense the work of Gluck in Italian opera in the 1840's laid down a new tradition for Europe. The *Indar Sabha* of Amānat, first produced about 1847-1853,* gave a new impulse to the Hindustani drama.

MUSIC AND DANCE: HINDU AND MUSLIM TRADITIONS

The traditions of the classical, Sanskrit stage, which gave us Sudraka, Bhavabhuti, and Kalidas, were unknown to Urdu writers. If they had been known, they would not have appealed to them, although the classical Sanskrit drama was a court art and a secular art, like the greater part of Urdu poetry. The religious Hindu play would have been outside the scope of Muslim poetry. But the humble folk-play and street comedy offered a living and popular form of art, which the Lucknow court adapted and used for its own purposes. The passion for dance and song was almost

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*Mr. Ram Babu Saksena (*History of Urdu Literature*, pp. 350-3) gives 1853 as the date when it was written. I am glad to see that he devotes 21 pages of his book to the Urdu Drama, about which he is enthusiastic. Usually dramatic literature is scarcely mentioned in accounts of Urdu literature. I wrote this chapter before I had seen his book, but I am glad to find that his views accord with those I put forward in 1917. (see *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2nd series, vol. 35, London 1917, pp. 79-99).

a vice in Lucknow. The work of Amānat is memorable for having given us dramatised music, a sort of opera-play, where full scope was given to dances, and the popular country airs were incorporated. These included the Chaubola and Chhand, the Thumri and Basant, the Holi and Sāwan, the Sha'r and the Ghazl, thus taking in the cultural characteristics of both Hindus and Muslims.

INDAR SABHA OF AMĀNAT

The scene is laid in the heaven of Indra (Indar), which is described in the *Mahabharat*. It is an assembly of mirth, with dance, music, song, and every splendour that can be imagined. The furniture is of gold, adorned with all kinds of precious stones, diamonds, emeralds, sapphires (*nilam*), topazes (*pukhrāj*), etc. In Amānat's play the precious stones give names to Peris (recalling Persian mythology), who dance before Indra as the courtesans danced in the darbār of Wājid Ali Shah. The Deos of Persian mythology become the attendants at the Darbār of Indar, which is peopled with all kinds of beings. The Emerald Peri is in love with a mortal man, Gul-fām (Rose-face), and her secret is betrayed to Indar by one of the Deos. She is banished and Gulfām is imprisoned. Many adventures follow, which test the truth of love. She comes back in disguise and so charms Indar with her music and dancing that he asks her to name her own reward. She reveals herself, confesses her love for Gulfām, and the happy pair are united amid a blaze of music and dancing. Though supernatural machinery is used, the characters and scenes are such as might have been seen any day in the Court of Wājid Ali Shah. There was nothing forced or laboured. It was a true picture of the Oudh Court.*

LATER HISTORY: RISE OF BENGALI DRAMA

Such plays might, in time, if the tradition had been established, have led to a true Comedy of Manners. But the conditions which produced it were swept away at the British annexation of Oudh. The later plays had to look

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*See my article on The Modern Hindustani Drama in the *Transactions of the Royat Society of Literature*, Second Series, vol. xxv, pp. 79-99; London, 1917.

to other models. The influence of a pseudo-English tradition of gorgeous scenery and mechanical devices, combined with the poverty of the companies and the depression of the dramatic art, have retarded further growth on indigenous lines. On the other hand the growth of the Bengali stage in importance and literary excellence, as we shall note in a later period, must be a source of encouragement to the vernacular Stage in all India.

CHAPTER VII

JOURNALISM, SOCIAL REFORM, ECONOMICS & POLITICS 1818–1857

CULTURAL SUPREMACY OF BENGAL IN THIS PERIOD

In the last chapter we saw how the growth of certain indigenous cultural movements in the Hindustani-speaking world were checked by the revolution in Oudh. One of the institutions that went with the Oudh dynasty was the Urdu printing press of the King of Lucknow. While Delhi had clung to Persian as the court language, the Oudh dynasty had adopted Urdu, of which the cultural development suffered a set-back with the annexation of Oudh. In British India, Bengal then held the supremacy. Bengal had seen English introduced into pleadings and proceedings in courts of law from 1835, and Persian altogether ousted in favour of Bengali in 1839. Thus, while English forged ahead as the polite language everywhere, and Bengali obtained a recognised place in the official scheme, Urdu went back a step at the end of the period, when the other vernaculars were gradually rising to power and recognition.

AGENCIES FOR THE GROWTH OF A YOUNG LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The chief agencies for the growth of a young language and its literature are: (1) the importance in the world attained by those who use that language and create that literature; (2) the flexibility shown in meeting and adequately expressing new needs and new conditions; (3) the use of the printing press in disseminating ideas and binding together those who speak the same language; (4) the development of journalism as a living and active force; and (5) the wide diffusion of popular education among the people concerned. The supremacy lay with Bengal during this and the succeeding period; Bengal responded most readily to the new traditions in British India, and turned its mind most readily to British methods in social reform and public life. English education reached wider circles during that period there than elsewhere, and formed modern habits of thought and expression, which reflected themselves later in its vernacular speech. Thus the modern Bengali language, though it started in the race later than Urdu, had advantages over Urdu, which enabled it to attain earlier maturity. The development of public life and education created the need of indigenous journalism also earlier in Bengal than in the Upper Provinces. Although the earlier successes of Bengali journalism were in English, they laid the foundation for vernacular journalism and the current use of the printing press for all purposes of cultural growth and expansion. The Bengal Zamindars grew rich, important, and influential, and their new status also raised the status of their language.

LITHOGRAPHY

Urdu type never became an accepted institution with the Urdu-reading public, and the development of Urdu journalism has been slow. To the present day there is not a single Urdu daily newspaper of wide circulation or commanding influence in the whole country. The introduction in 1837 of lithography for the purpose of printing Urdu books supplied a cheap medium for the multiplication of Urdu manuscript writing, but its limitations can never make it a substitute for type-printing. Considering that its discovery in Germany itself was no earlier than the end of the eighteenth century, its use for Urdu printing in India within forty years shows a certain amount of enterprise as well as the utter unsuitability of the types so far cast for Persian printing. In Europe the lithographic process has been confined to the printing of music and drawings, as type-printing is cheaper and neater for letter-press. The shape of letters in Roman type has been considerably modified from the old calligraphists' letters in manuscripts. In the same way, if Urdu type-printing is to succeed as a commercial proposition, Urdu readers will have to make up their minds to modified shapes of letters for printing purposes, different from the letters in the cursive writing to which they have become accustomed.

RECENT IMPROVEMENTS IN LITHOGRAPHY

Meanwhile three improvements have been made in European lithography, which are worthy of attention. One is photo-lithography, in which a single copy made by the scribe can be multiplied indefinitely. This removes one serious drawback of ordinary lithography, that only a few hundred really good copies can be printed from one copy written by the scribe, and that for the production of more copies the scribe has to write it over and over again. A second improvement resulted from the rotary machine. Instead of the flat stones from which impressions were slowly printed, metal plates rotating by machinery were introduced, in which the ink and moisture were automatically supplied as the machine rotated. This greatly increased the speed of the printing. A third and more recent improvement is the off-set process. In this the intervention of an elastic rubber sheet between the sheet of paper and the plate containing the impression gives good results on rough as well as on smooth paper. Direct impressions from the hard metal plate required special smooth or glazed paper; otherwise the printing was uneven or even blurred. These improvements are being gradually introduced into Urdu presses.

MUTUAL REACTIONS BETWEEN PRINTING, POPULAR EDUCATION, JOURNALISM, AND PUBLIC LIFE

As soon as lithography became available in India, Urdu and Persian presses began to multiply. As was appropriate, the first lithographic press was set up in Delhi about 1837. Lucknow followed soon afterwards. Newspapers, pamphlets, government notices, Acts of the Legislative Councils in Urdu translations, as well as serious literary work began to appear in lithographic print. On the one hand increased printing helped the diffusion of education. On the other hand the organisation of public education created a greater need of the Press. Similarly the development of the vernacular and the expansion of journalism reacted on each other, and influenced and were influenced by printing presses and the spread of education.

RISE OF URDU LITERARY PROSE

It was the complex of these causes that gave us modern Urdu prose. And similar influences produced a workable, flexible prose in the other vernaculars. These causes began to operate with considerable force only towards the end of the present period, that is, not long before the Mutiny. For this reason we see in this period only the beginnings of journalism and public life, of lasting work in vernacular education and vernacular prose. The real developments of all these instruments of a nation's cultural progress will be found in subsequent periods. The prose of Maulāna Abdul Qādir Dehlavi's Translation of the Quran, referred to in the last chapter, was merely an appendage in the form of explanatory interlinear notes, to the Arabic text. The prose of the religious propaganda of Maulvi Karāmat Ali was forcible and homely, full of sincerity and without literary artifice, but it was rude and without technical merit. The prose of the Fort William School was showy and insincere; its form was modelled on the jingling, rhyming models of the Persian and Arabic authors of the age of decline. Above all it had no message to convey, and died with the restricted educational movement for whose benefit it was called into being.

SIR SAIYID AHMAD KHAN'S EARLY AND LATER PROSE

Even Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan, who later on, developed a vigorous prose when he had a social, religious, or political cause to advocate or defend, was still in the fetters of the traditional style in 1847, when he dealt with the Antiquities of Delhi. His *Āsār-us-Sanādīd* takes us from a literary point of view, very little further than the prose writers of the century. From the point of view of subject-matter, however, it marks a great advance in Urdu literature. For the first time, local history and a detailed and critical account of monuments and inscriptions are considered in Urdu. It was illustrated, and the author took and recorded actual measurements on the spot. This constitutes its permanent value, as many of the landmarks of old Delhi are being swept away by time and the rise of the new Delhi. The author's official and judical experience in the British-Indian law-courts taught him to handle his subject and arrange his matter in a plain business-like style. Although his discussions of dates and historical facts were based on imperfect data, his method remains a landmark in Urdu, and was further adapted to the new conditions in his later writings.

URDU JOURNALISM

Apart from what has been said in Chapter IV, no precise information is available about early Urdu newspapers. It is said* that the first Urdu newspaper printed in Delhi, the *Urdu Akhbār*, was started by Maulvi Muhammad Bāqir, the father of Muhammad Husain Āzād, who afterwards became so famous in Urdu literature. The date given is 1856. But there were several Urdu papers in Delhi in 1857, as we shall see when we speak of the Mutiny. It is probable that Urdu journalism began in Delhi not long after the introduction of lithography in 1837. We know that a Persian newspaper was lithographed in Teheran edited by Mirza Sālih, one of the secretaries of the Shah†. Persian papers, however, continued to be lithographed in India, and they circulated as far as Kabul, Herat, and Bokhara‡.

ENGLISH JOURNALISM IN UPPER INDIA

Upper India English journalism also centred in those early days in Delhi. *The Delhi Gazette*, edited by a Mr. Place, had a good English press, which printed such papers as *Saunders' Monthly Magazine* for all India, and the *Delhi Sketch-Book* a comic paper like *Punch*. The printer in 1854 was one Kanahiya Lal. The knowledge of English was spreading so fast, thanks to the old Delhi College, that British journalists were able to boast of it as an achievement of British rule. "Already," said *Saunders' Monthly* in 1854, "in the first century of our conquest, the knowledge of the English language has spread with far greater rapidity than that of Persian ever did in the first four centuries of the Mahomedan rule;...the pursuit of

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*Zutshi's *Guldasta i Adab*, p. 37. See also C. F. Andrews, *Zakaullah of Delhi*, p. 29.

†*Journal*, Royal Asiatic Society 1839, p. 355.

‡*Calcutta Review*, xviii (1852), 491.

literature and science in English is assiduously and ardently cultivated."*

JOURNALISM IN BENGAL

In Bengal, too, the real journalistic movement among Indians began in the middle of the nineteenth century. For a generation before that there had been religious or literary papers in Bengali and English, but they did not affect secular public life. Both Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Maharshi Devendranath Tagore used a paper for the propagation of their views on religious reform, and when Keshub Chunder Sen broke with the Maharshi, the paper, which he carried with him, helped to further his influence. But Bengali secular journalism began in the English language. *The Reformer* (about 1830?) was the first English newspaper conducted by Indians, and belonged to Raja Ram Mohan Roy's party†. In 1846 Kashi Prashad Ghose (1809-1873) started the weekly journal, *The Hindu Intelligencer*, which continued to be published till 1857, when the military crisis compelled the restriction of the liberty of the Press. This paper represented the views of orthodox Hindus. In 1849 started the *Bengal Recorder*, for which the real father of Anglo-Bengali journalism, Grish Chandra Ghose, was responsible. This paper became the *Hindu Patriot* in 1859, and ushered in the period of post-Mutiny journalism in Bengal, which we shall review in its proper place.

FREEDOM AND RESTRICTIONS OF THE PRESS

The freedom of the Press, which Sir Charles Metcalfe established in 1835, had really very little influence on Indian cultural development, for the simple reason that the Indian Press hardly became a power till after the Mutiny. Lord Wellesley's Press censorship of 1799 was a war measure of the Napoleonic period, and directed against British journalists. When Lord Hastings relaxed the strict control of the Press in 1819, it by no means meant the complete emancipation of the Press. It only meant that it was no longer necessary to submit proofs of a newspaper to the Secretary to Government before publication. The rules then laid down had in view (as we saw) only the Anglo-Indian Press. They restricted the newspapers from: (1) animadverting on the authorities in England, or publishing "disquisitions" on the political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks against Members of Council, Judges, or the Lord Bishop of Calcutta; (2) printing discussions tending to create alarm among the "native populations"; (3) republishing, from English or other papers, matter affecting the British power or reputation in India; and (4) retailing "private scandal."* These rules give a clear indication of the Government's distrust of almost any criticism. The reform of 1835 was distasteful to the directors of the East India Company in London, but really encouraged the growth of a responsible Anglo-Indian Press. The high racial feelings on both the British and the Indian side in 1857 made some restriction temporarily necessary, but it applied unfortunately more to the Indian than to the Anglo-Indian Press. The first twenty years of Crown Government in India saw the growth of a *vernacular* Press as well as an Indian-edited English Press. Lord Lytton's restrictions in 1878 for the first time discriminated the vernacular from the English press.

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* *Saunders' Monthly Magazine*, vol. III, No. 4. Delhi, 1854.

† Alexander Duff: *India and Indian Missions*, p. 619.

FOUR FACTORS IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

In examining the social life of the period we must bear four considerations in mind. First, the vast mass of village people continued in their own old ways, though the change in government and in the economics system did introduce new elements into their life unconsciously. Secondly, in the towns and cities, and among the upper classes remarkable changes and displacements of social strata occurred, and English fashions set in. Thirdly, new economic factors and means of communication were gradually introducing new habits and needs, which seemed to the conservative element to threaten religion and the moral order. Fourthly, this dread of a strange, mysterious urge to the unknown was accentuated by the conscious movements of social and political reform.

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* *Calcutta Gazette*, October, 1819.

RELATIVE POPULATIONS IN CITIES

As to the mass of the people, we get a fairly good general view in Hamilton's *Description of Hindostan*, published in 1820, and later in *Thornton's Gazetteer* in 1854. In Hamilton's day there was no accurate census of the population, but it is interesting to find the cities classified according to the reputed population, occupying such a different position relatively to each other, compared with the estimate 34 years later, and the figures available now, by means of the decennial censuses that have been taken since 1871. In 1820 Benares was apparently considered the largest city in India, with Calcutta and Surat following close, and Bombay and Delhi a long way behind. The estimated figures were as follows.—

1.	Benares,	Estimated	population	600,000
2.	Calcutta	,,	,,	500,000
3.	Surat	,,	,,	450,000
4.	Patna	,,	,,	312,000
5.	Madras	,,	,,	300,000
6.	Dacca	,,	,,	180,000
7.	Bombay	,,	,,	170,000
8.	Delhi	,,	,,	150,000
9.	Murshidabad	,,	,,	150,000

Lucknow was not then in British India, but it no doubt occupied a high position, from a population point of view, as it did without doubt from a cultural point of view. I doubt whether the figure for Benares was actually bigger than that for Calcutta; probably it was grossly exaggerated. It is probable that Lucknow was very near Calcutta on the population basis: certainly its cultural importance was very much greater. In Thornton's time a closer estimate had brought down Calcutta's population to 413,000 and brought up Bombay's population to 566,000. The opening of the Suez overland route in 1841-3, and the acquisition of Aden in 1839, providing coaling facilities for steamship communication, gave great advantages to Bombay, and made it the first city in India in the middle of the nineteenth century. Its fine harbour was undoubtedly a factor in its rapid growth.

COUNTRY: AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURES

The country, though fairly fully cultivated, had not, even in Bengal, yet felt the intense pressure on the soil, which it has experienced since. Hamilton estimated that only one-third of the land in Bengal and Bihar was cultivated, exclusive of fallows. In England there were four acres of arable and meadow land for every inhabitant; in Bengal there was little more than one acre for every inhabitant. Today Bengal has scarcely half an acre of cultivated land for every inhabitant. The manufactures had been continually going down during the period under the stress of British competition. By the time that Thornton wrote, the extensive art muslin manufactures of Dacca and the cotton manufactures of Balasore had nearly come to an end. What happened in the big manufacturing centres also happened in the thousands of small manufacturing centres throughout India. The hand industries succumbed; both those which had supplied art products and those which had supplied the daily needs of the people. Manufactures became more and more the monopoly of the foreign import trade. The pressure on land increased. India became more and more a producer of raw material. Even the export trade in these raw materials began to be more and more a monopoly of the foreign merchants, as the shipping was in their hands, as well as the modern banking which financed the foreign trade, and which had the closest connection with the enormous financial interests of the government of the East India Company.

DISPLACEMENTS AND READJUSTMENTS IN SOCIAL STRATA

While these economic changes were happening on a large scale, it was inevitable that considerable displacements in the social strata should occur, with corresponding readjustments. The Indian intermediaries who helped the trade and banking of the Company, and later its nationals (when the Company ceased to trade), got the big prizes, and became the most important in the social scale. Hamilton noted that the wealthy men in Bengal were the Hindu merchants, bankers, and Banyans. The Muslim nobles and officials and the Hindu Zamindars were reduced to poverty. The masses of the people no longer looked to their old and natural leaders. They now looked to the official servants and even the domestics of the English. Warren Hasting's Jemadar owned land in Calcutta, while descendants of the Grand Mughal starved on other people's charity. In the Company's Civil Service only the lower and clerical ranks were in practice open to Indians. In the Army the depression was still greater: the highest rank open, both on paper and in fact, was that of a Subadar, which in emoluments and in social respect was inferior to that of a young ensign fresh from England. Lord Cornwallis's policy of raising up families and dynasties of landed proprietors failed. The reason given officially was improvidence and the laws of division of property. But more important reasons were behind the failure. The administrators as a body never understood or accepted Lord Cornwallis's policy, which, if it had succeeded, would have been against the interests of the Company's Civil Service. The land revenue law was administered harshly, and many of the Zamindars were ruined or impoverished. The demand fixed in perpetuity was at the time unduly high, and left very little capital to go into the land. After the pacification of 1819, more than a million people who had earned their livelihood in the army or in services connected with the army were unemployed, and depressed the standards of lower-grade employment. The old martial, administrative, and landed classes, and men of learning were depressed, and the men of subtle wits, who could chime in with the new conditions, acquired wealth and influence. On the whole, the commercial and money-lending classes, as also the unskilled labourers, gained in this period, while the skilled artisans and the higher landed classes, as well as those who were attached to old ideas and traditions, materially lost ground.

ROMANCE OF TRADE; RAM DOOLAL DEY, MILLIONAIRE

The romance of trade and commerce in Indian life in the early nineteenth century is illustrated by a story which Grish Chunder Ghose* told in a Lecture at the

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*Manmanath Ghosh: *Selections from the Writings of Grish Chunder Ghose*, pp. 1–43.

Hugli College in 1868. The Bengali millionaire, Ram Doolal Dey, who died in 1825, rose from humble beginnings. He began life, in the early days of the English, as a ship sarkar or clerk on Rs. 5 per month. His Bengali employer trusted him and sent him to bid at a Calcutta auction for a wreck at the mouth of the Hugli river. Dey had previously seen the wreck and knew its value, and bid Rs. 14,000 for his master. The wreck was knocked down to him, but some people who knew its value and were too late to bid, offered him Rs. 100,000 almost immediately, which he accepted. He thus made a profit of Rs. 86,000 in a single transaction. He duly told his master the story, and the master on his part gave the money to him. This was a fortune to Dey, and he founded a house of business which established a fine reputation in shipping and foreign trade. He cultivated the American trade, which after the establishment of American independence entered the Indian market. In 1801 the American merchants presented him with a portrait of Washington, and an American ship was named after him. He also did a big trade with Britain and China. His firm was the chief Banyan, or Indian agent, of the British firm of Fairlie Ferguson & Co. He also dealt in the home market. Once he wanted to corner broadcloth and sugar, but his scheme was defected by his wife, in the interests of the Brahmans who suffered from the manipulation of the market. He himself had great superstitious reverence for the Brahmans. Though, as in the case of many millionaires, there may have been dark spots in his race for wealth, he gave freely for his friends and in cases in which he was interested. He gave Rs. 30,000 for the Hindu College, and spent two lakhs to recover caste for a friend.

ROMANCE OF EXPLORATION: MUNSHI MOHAN LAL

Another romance, not of wealth but of travel and exploration, is illustrated in the life of a Kashmiri Brahman settled in Delhi, Munshi Mohan Lal. He was one of the first pupils educated in the English College at Delhi, opened in 1829. His English studies only covered three years. He learnt drawing and surveying and other useful knowledge. He travelled in Persia and Central

Asia from December 1831 to January 1834 as Persian Munshi to two British military officers, who had a mission from the Government of India. One of these officers was Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, who afterwards won the Royal Geographical Society's gold medal on the score of his journeys in Persia and Central Asia, and later, as Sir Alexander Burnes, played such a prominent part in Afghan affairs, 1836-41. Mohan Lal kept a detailed record of his journeys in lands then little known. This was published in 1834 as his Journal of a tour through the Punjab, Afghanistan, Turkistan, Khorasan and part of Persia, and is a valuable record of political conditions beyond the north-western frontier of British India, which in his day was marked by the river Satlaj. Mohan Lal was only 22 years of age when his book was published in Calcutta. He had a fine reception in Persia, and in Kabul was asked if he would join the Afghan service. Ranjit Singh's court was also impressed with him, and the Maharaja's General Ventura asked him to find an English-knowing Munshi for employment under him. He was appreciated and admired everywhere except among his own people on his return to Delhi. In their eyes he had lost caste. The Company appointed him their Native Agent in Kabul.

TIPPU SULTAN'S SON—IN ENGLAND AND IN INDIA

One of the sons of Tippu Sultan travelled to the West in 1837. He visited England, Scotland and Ireland. He interested himself in the agriculture and manufactures of the country which had deprived his father of the sovereignty of Mysore. He purchased some India stock, and thus became a proprietor, with a vote, in the affairs of the East India Company. It was said in the Royal Asiatic Society that he thus had an influence over the British Government in India, far greater than any which his father could have possessed in the plenitude of his power.* The situation was certainly intriguing, but it is not to be supposed that it consoled the Prince for the loss of his father's kingdom. The conditions in India were not such as to give any chance or opening to men of that position, and many descendants of once powerful families have decayed into sloth and obscurity through want of opportunity.

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*_Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society_, 1837, p. xxxviii. The son's name is misprinted Jamhuddin. It must have been either Moizzuddin or Moinuddin, one of the two younger sons of Tippu Sultan (_Wellesley Despatches_, ii. 84).

STEAMSHIP SERVICE

More rapid than the changes introduced into India by printing in the intellectual outlook of the people, were the changes introduced into general life by the revolution in the means of communication and the revolution in the economics of industry and commerce. Steamship service was earlier in Great Britain than steam railways; the same sequence was observed in India, though by a longer interval. Steamer service between Liverpool and Glasgow began in 1815, and it extended rapidly. As early as November 1823 a public meeting was held in the Calcutta Town Hall, which appointed a Committee to promote steam communication between England and Bengal, either by the Red Sea route or by the Cape route. Rs. 10,000 was subscribed, and a bonus was offered for two steam voyages by either route within a period not exceeding an average of 70 days for each of the four voyages. The competition was to be confined to British subjects and the vessels were to be not less than 300 tons. The same year a steamer was built in the Kidderpore Docks. The Bombay docks followed suit soon afterwards, and steamers began to ply regularly between England and India, both by the Cape route and by the Red Sea overland route through Egypt. The early private enterprise in steam navigation suffered losses. Government intervened, and under their auspices river steam navigation became an established means of communication until it was superseded by railways. The working of the coal fields of Burdwan and Palamau also helped steam navigation in Bengal. In the matter of ocean steamers India remained and still remains backward. From 1842 onwards the P. & O. Company has held the mail contract service to the East. For this it maintained until the Suez canal was opened, a fleet of boats between Bombay and an Egyptian port on the Red Sea, and another between England and Alexandria, the Egyptian port on the Mediterranean, while large caravans numbering as many as 3,000 camels did the land journey through Egypt. This was a great improvement on the state of things in 1837, when monthly steam packets went from England to Alexandria, but the further route was subject to many chances and delays. The postage then from Falmouth to Bombay was 3s. 2d. (=Re. 1/10) per letter, and the minimum time taken was 45 days, but the indefinite delays made the time very uncertain. By 1854 there were semi-monthly services between both Suez and Bombay and Suez and Calcutta.

RAILWAYS AND COAL-MINING IN INDIA

The capital and the working of steamer communication were in British hands and its development was rapid. But the profits went out of the country, and this remains to a large extent true to the present day. The development of Indian railways was slower; and in the earlier days they were a dead loss to the Indian finances, while the British companies, which were granted favourable terms of guarantee, flourished and built up a profitable vested interest. In recent times the railways have come more and more under State ownership, and now yield, in prosperous years, a handsome return to the Indian Government. Though the first railway in England (and in the world), between Stockton and Darlington was opened in 1825, the first railway in India, between Bombay and Thana, 21 miles, was not opened till 1853. Lord Dalhousie, then the Governor-General, had dealt with the question of railways in England in his two terms of offices at the Board of Trade. He planned a comprehensive scheme in India, not only for local needs, but for the whole country. In his Railway Minute of 1853 he discussed the social, political, and commercial advantages of railways, though it must be said that strategic considerations and those for British trade held the predominant place in "India's Development" rather than India's indigenous needs. The Bombay line was intended, among other things, to link up the port with the rich cotton districts of Berar for export purposes. In spite of certain doubts expressed whether

Indians would use railways, the railways were crowded as soon as they were opened. In February 1855 the Bengal railway was opened for 122 miles, between Calcutta and Raniganj, opening up a rich coal field. The merits of Indian coal had been examined as early as 1832. It left a greater quantity of earthen ash than British coal, but it was better for steam purposes than China coal, which burned too slowly, like coke.*

TELEGRAPHS AND MARINE CABLES

About telegraphs a passage from a private letter of Lord Dalhousie, dated Barrackpore February 5th, 1855, speaks for itself.† "Two days before, the electric telegraph was opened to the public from Calcutta to Bombay, to Madras, and to Attock on the Indus. Fifteen months ago not a yard of this was laid, or a signaller trained. Now we have 3,050 miles opened. The communication between Calcutta and Madras direct by land, a month ago, took twelve days: yesterday a communication was made, *round by Bombay*, in two hours. Again, I ask, are we such slow coaches out here?" The charges against Dalhousie was, not that he went too slow, but that he went too fast. The marine electric cable was laid along the Red Sea in 1859, and later in the same year Karachi and Muscat were connected by a cable. The later extension to Aden from Muscat, and to Malta from Egypt, completed India's cable communications with Europe and England.

CHEAP POST AND POSTAGE STAMPS

Side by side with these activities went cheap inland postage. A half-anna for letters and a quarter-anna for post-cards were the rates fixed when the first postage stamp was issued in India in 1854. These rates were in money value cheaper than the penny postage introduced in England in 1840, though the real value in terms of cost of living was higher. These rates remained current till the period of the World War (1914-18) disturbed all economic standards, throughout the world.

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*J. G. A. Baird: *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, p. 337.

†*Annual Register for 1832*, Second Part, p. 445.

NEW AND IMPROVED CROPS

Among the new crops introduced or old crops improved may be mentioned tea, coffee, potatoes, American cotton, the Mauritius sugarcane, and Syrian and other tobaccos. The tea plant had been found growing wild in Assam. But to produce tea in modern commercial conditions much research was necessary. Lord William Bentinck in 1834 formed a Committee for attempting tea cultivation in India. Seeds and plants were obtained from China, and Chinese cultivators and Chinese methods were also introduced, and Assam and the lower slopes of the Himalayas, from Bengal to the Punjab, soon became tea-producing districts. In 1857 the Assam Tea Company alone was expected to produce as much as 700,000 lbs. of tea. In 1934 the Indian production of tea reached the figure of 400 million lbs. of which more than three-quarters was exported abroad mostly to Great Britain. Coffee was introduced into Southern India by Muslims in pre-British days. But the large demand for the berry in England gave a stimulus to coffee cultivation in India. In 1845 as much as 4¼ million lbs. were exported. Coffee is now firmly established as a staple production in Southern India, the Indian exports in 1935 having been 156,500 cwts. out of a production of 293,400 cwts. There is no evidence that the East India Company's government directed much attention to the cultivation of the potato, but the cultivation of the root became popular in the uplands of the Deccan and in the Hills and plains, both in northern and in southern India, before the middle of the nineteenth century. Heber in a letter dated Titagarh, 10th January, 1824, noted how the Indians liked potatoes though they had known them only a few years. He thought they were soon "likely to rank as a supplementary staff of life, with rice and plantains."* Cotton has been one of the most important staples of India from the most ancient times, but the decay of its cotton industries of the finer kind produced a certain deterioration in the quality of the raw material produced. The East India Company, with an eye to the supply of the Manchester demand, made some attempts to introduce the

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*Heber's *Journey*, III. 261.

long staple American variety into India, to improve the cultivation, and to establish better methods of cleaning and packing the produce. These efforts began as early as 1788, and have continued in varying phases ever since. But it must be noted that here there is a certain amount of conflict in the different interests involved: those of the Manchester manufacturer, of the Indian cultivators, of the Indian hand-weavers, and the Indian mill industry since 1862. Cotton has now become one of the slogans of economic and political nationalism, and is in that way intricately mixed up with India's future cultural progress. Very limited success has attended the efforts to introduce foreign varieties of sugar-cane and tobacco. Sugar, however, has become an important industrial interest in India since the adoption of a protection policy in India from 1923 onwards. The competition of Java has been eliminated; a better quality of cane (developed in Coimbatore) is grown in northern India; and sugar factories have been established all over the country. Indian tobacco has also received a certain amount of fillip from the protective policy.

ILLUMINANTS

In the matter of illuminants India has passed through three stages. In the first, the universal illuminant was some form of vegetable oil. Some of these gave very beautiful, cool, and steady light, but they were expensive. The use of coal gas as an illuminant early in the nineteenth century in England introduced a cheap illuminant specially suitable for the lighting of public streets. But coal had yet to be discovered and worked as a commercial proposition in India. This became a possibility with the prospect of the opening of the railway to the Raniganj coal fields in the 1850's. About 1854 a company was formed in Calcutta for providing the chief cities of India with gas instead of oil lamps. Gas gradually came into general use for public lighting in big cities. But it never came into general use for private lighting even in the cities of India, on account of the difficulties of plumbing. Kerosene oil, when introduced, supplanted vegetable oils and now electricity is rapidly being made available, but both these illuminants came into use at a much later period than the one which we are considering.

ENGLISH FASHIONS AND THE CHANGES THEY IMPLIED

All these concrete facts help us to realise how habits and modes of life were changing in all grades of Indian society. In the upper grades the introduction of English education and English fashions had produced remarkable changes in ideas and outlook. A profound change in religious thought was evidenced by the early theistic movement and its development in the Brahmo Somaj. But the outward life and fashions change more readily than the inward thoughts of society, and outward changes are accepted with less resistance even by those who cling to the old ways in religious thought and social practices. In 1824 (Nov. 18) Babu Rup Lal Halik's house in Chitpore Road, Calcutta, showed Corinthian pillars on the outside, and celebrated a nautch and a Hindu festival, probably *Diwali*, inside.* Heber wrote in December 1823: "There is an obvious and increasing disposition to imitate the English in everything, which has already led to very remarkable changes, and will, probably, to still more important. The wealthy natives now all affect to have their houses decorated with Corinthian pillars, and filled with English furniture. They drive the best horses and the most dashing carriages in Calcutta. Many of them speak English fluently, and are tolerably read in English literature; and the children of one of our friends I saw one day dressed in jackets and trousers, with round hats, shoes and stockings. In the Bengali newspapers, of which there are two or three, politics are canvassed with a bias, as I am told, inclining to Whiggism, and one of their leading men gave a great dinner not long since, in honour of the Spanish Revolution. Among the lower orders the same feeling shows itself more beneficially, in a growing neglect of caste—in not merely a willingness, but an anxiety, to send their children to our schools, and a desire to learn and speak English."†

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* Heber's *Journey*, I. 47.

† Heber's *Journey*, III, 252-53.

ENGLISH BARBER AT THE OUDH COURT

English fashions went so far that even for the familiar trade of a barber, the King of Oudh engaged a European. There may have been political reasons behind such appointments, but, whatever the original motives, the fashion in favour of everything European or English established itself. And Englishmen were shrewd enough to profit by this. The Hon. Emily Eden, sister of Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, speaks in a letter dated March 27th, 1837, of a barber from the Governor-General's household, who was engaged by the King of Oudh "at a salary of Rs. 400 per month, with presents to about the same amount, and, if he becomes a favourite, the certainty of making his fortune." His predecessor, she adds, "is now going home with thirteen or fourteen lakhs of rupees." !*

NEW INTERESTS AND FASHIONS AMONG THE INTELLECTUAL CLASSES

Among people with intellectual traditions, wherever the political influence penetrated, intellectual fashions went along with it. In Lord Amherst's time (1823-28), the Nawab of Murshidabad amused his leisure with English literature and English politics. The King of Oudh, Ghaziuddin Haidar (1814-27), patronised European art as well as Oriental philology.† He talked about steam engines (1824), and a new way of propelling ships by a spiral wheel at the bottom of the vessel, which an English engineer in his day had invented. He had a taste for mechanics and chemistry.‡ A member of the Tagore family in Calcutta could talk familiarly about chemistry, natural philosophy, and the achievements of that versatile American genius, Benjamin Franklin, who was a scientist and philosopher as well as a statesman and diplomatist.§

CHANGED IDEAS OF SATI, AND GROWTH IN NUMBERS

In such a transition stage there was inevitably a certain amount of incongruity between the old and the new side by side. And incongruity in ideas is apt to appear even more ludicrous or tragic than incongruity in fashions. Sometimes people of ideas eagerly grasp new facilities and press their old ideas into forms more deadly and dangerous than they were in their original setting. The Sati idea, for example, practised rarely and only in the highest families in earlier days, seems to have been revived and become commoner and less voluntary round about Calcutta with the disturbance of social strata among the Hindus, of which we have already spoken. Mr. James Forbes,* writing in 1813, believed that no Hindu widow immolated herself in Bombay to his knowledge within fifty years, but round Calcutta, he considered it well established, that cases of Sati were common. And he urged a plea for its "peaceful abolition," *i. e.*, by the exercise of British executive authority rather than by legislation. But the evil grew and grew in Bengal. Lady Amherst saw a distressing case in October 1825, which she thus described in her Diary:—

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* Emily Eden: *Letters from India*, I. 340-1.
† A. T. Richie: *Lord Amherst*, p. 49.
‡ Heber's *Journey*, II. 75,78.
§ Id., III. 234.

"A young man having died of cholera, his widow resolved to mount the funeral pile. The usual preparations were made, and the licence procured from the magistrate. The fire was lighted by the nearest relations; when the flame reached her, however, she lost courage, and amid a volume of smoke, and the deafening screams of the mob, tomtoms, drums, etc., she contrived to slip down unperceived, and gained a neighbouring jungle. At first she was not missed, but when the smoke subsided, it was discovered she was not on the pile, the mob became furious, and ran into the jungle to look for the unfortunate young creature, dragged her down to the river, put her into a dingy, and shoved off to the middle of the stream, where they forced her violently overboard, and she sunk to rise no more."†

SATI PROHIBITED BY LAW

The evil seems to have forced itself on the attention of Lord Amherst's successor Lord William Bentinck. He made careful enquiries and ascertained the opinion of the classes likely to be affected. Confidential enquiries in the

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* *Oriental Memoirs.* II. 373.
† Mrs. Ritchie's *Lord Amherst*, pp. 63-4.

Bengal army showed that the fear of its being driven to rebellion by the abolition of Sati was fanciful. Advanced Hindus like Raja Ram Mohan Roy did not consider that the prohibition of *Sati* would be against the best interpretation of the Hindu religion but they apprehended danger in the proposed legislation. The judges of the Nizamat Adalat thought that the practice ought to be suppressed. The most positive opposition came from Orientalists like Dr. Henry Horace Wilson, who allowed no scope for interpretation in religious practices and raised the alarm about extensive discontent. But Lord William Bentinck got the prohibitory legislation passed on the 4th December, 1829. Sati henceforward became illegal and punishable in the Criminal Courts, whether it took the form of burning widows or burying them alive.*

OTHER QUESTIONS OF SOCIAL REFORM

Other questions affecting Hindu social reform were discussed by reformers. Such questions were caste distinctions in religious worship, the marriage of girls before the age of maturity, and Kulin marriages in Bengal. The Kulins were a very high class of Bengal Brahmans, to whom many young girls were poligamously married. The remarriage of Hindu widows was legalised by Act XV of 1856. By Act XXI of 1850, passed under missionary pressure, it was enacted that a change of religion did not disqualify the convert for inheritance. Women's liability for offences against sex morality was not enforced in the criminal courts.

SLAVERY

The formal abolition of slavery by Act V of 1843 made little practical difference in Indian life. The horrors of plantation slavery, an invention of European nations after they became powerful at sea, were never known in the East. Domestic slavery had been known, but arose mostly from wars. The Portuguese had been slave-raiders in India, and had come into collision with both Shah Jahan and Aurangzib, who had objected to the enslavement

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*Lord William Bentinck's Minute on the subject, dated 8th November 1829, is printed in D. C. Boulger's *Lord William Bentinck*, pp. 96-109.

of their subjects. When Hamilton wrote in 1820, slaves in British India "were not so few as to be of no consideration, nor so many as to form a notable part of the population." The British had never recognised the *traffic* in slaves in India. In 1789 they forbade the export of slaves from British India by a Proclamation, which recites that both Indians and Europeans had indulged in "the practice of purchasing or collecting natives of both sexes, children as well as adults, for the purpose of exporting them as slaves in different parts of India, or elsewhere." A corresponding Regulation was passed in 1811 for preventing the importation of slaves from foreign countries and the sale of slaves in the Bengal Presidency, and a similar Regulation was passed for the Bombay Presidency in 1813. The British Parliament had declared the traffic in slaves to be a criminal offence in 1811. This piecemeal legislation was not entirely effective, until the Indian Act of 1843 made the status of slavery itself illegal.* The British Parliament had abolished the status in 1833, allowing a transition period of seven years from that date, but doubts were raised about its application to India.

CONSULTATION OF INDIAN OPINION, AND ASSOCIATION OF INDIANS IN JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE ADMINISTRATION

The discussion of public questions in newspapers and societies, and by consultation with influential non-officials by Government, began in this period, though the systematic exercise of the pressure of Indian public opinion came into force after the Mutiny. By Regulation 6 of 1832 Indian juries could have been empanelled in civil and criminal cases, but there was little response to this desire to associate the people in the administration of justice. In the Presidency Towns, from 1832 onwards, Indians could be appointed Justices of the Peace, and this privilege was highly valued. In 1836 all disabilities, on account of place of birth or descent, were removed in the appointments of Sadr Amins, Amins, and Munsifs, and Indians began to have a wide field in judicial training and in

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*The missionary James Pegg, in *India's Cries to British Humanity*, London, 1832, made an impassioned appeal against Infanticide, Idolatry, Ghat murders, Sati, and Slavery, and advocated European colonisation in India in the interests of Christianity. See also Wm. Adam: *Law and Custom of Slavery in British India*, London 1840.

judicial careers, for which they have shown such marked aptitude and abilities in succeeding generations. By the Charter Act of 1833, section 87, all disabilities of religion, place of birth, descent, or colour were removed for holding any place, office, or employment under the Company. But it took many generations before this Parliamentary enactment was carried out in the highest executive and military posts in India, and even now it is subject to many qualifications.

RAM MOHAN ROY BEFORE A PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

When the renewal of the Company's Charter was under discussion in England in 1831, Raja Ram Mohan Roy gave evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons dealing with the subject. In this way he was the first Indian publicly called into consultation by authority for determining the general line of British policy in India. His evidence dealt with every phase of public questions. He deprecated the lack of a proper code of laws. Macaulay soon afterwards set the machinery of codification in motion, though the Indian Penal Code and the first Code of Criminal Procedure did not come into operation till 1860. Roy also lamented the want of properly qualified judges, and of intimate relations between the Bench and the Bar, and between the public and the Government in India. He thought that English, being the language of the judges, was better fitted to be the language of the courts, than Persian. He did not think that there was public confidence in the general operation of the judicial system, and urged a more widespread publicity in the dissemination of the Regulations of the Government. He urged the encouragement of Panchayets, as being an indigenous form of Juries. He disapproved of the combination of judicial with revenue and executive functions in the Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit, and urged the appointment of Indians to Collectorships and other high posts in the administration.

THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE: THEIR CONDITION AND THEIR ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT

The condition of the cultivators, he thought, was miserable, both under the Zamindari and the Ryotwari systems. The wages of Calcutta artisans, *e.g.* blacksmiths, carpenters, etc. were about Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per month, and those of less skilled workmen Rs. 5 to Rs. 6. Unskilled labourers earned Rs. 3½ to Rs. 4. This scale of earnings was in Calcutta where the cost of living was comparatively high. The wages were much lower in smaller towns, and still lower in the villages. Asked about the attitude of the people to the Government, he gave the only reply that was possible. Men of ambition were frankly disaffected. The rich merchants, and Zamindars with a permanent revenue settlement, looked upon the Government as a blessing as all their interests were bound up with it. The peasantry, that is, the mass of the people, were indifferent. This applied to Bengal particularly. In the Upper Provinces (about which he did not speak) there were no rich merchants or Zamindars, and therefore no class actively in favour of Government. In the Bombay and Madras Presidencies (which were also outside the Raja's horizon,) the men of ambition who had been thrown out of employment were few in number, and therefore active sedition was negligible. These facts go a long way to explain the geographical distribution of the Revolt of 1857 and the fact that the mass of the people, being indifferent, were very little affected by it one way or another.

HEALTH OF THE PEOPLE

About the health of the people we have no statistics relating to the period. The climate of India has often been maligned. But economic conditions and modes of living have much to do with evils attributed to the climate. In 1820 Hamilton considered India "a very healthy country," compared with the West Indies and other tropical countries. Plague was not then known. In so far as the masses of the people lived in the open air in the country, we may suppose that in normal times their health was good, and that the growth of a more complex life later, in growing towns and large villages, without any reasonable sanitation or habits of sanitation outside of field life, must have adversely affected the general health of the people. This is probably true. But we must not forget that epidemics when they came caused enormous havoc in those early days, in the absence of any organised means of mitigating their horrors. Famines and starvation always brought disease and lowered the people's vitality. The small-pox epidemic of 1796 carried off great numbers of men and cattle. The cholera that started among the Bengal troops in 1817-18 in connection with the enormous massing of troops for military operations spread rapidly and infected Calcutta. It spread over Central India to Bombay. It reached Europe by way of Persia and Russia in 1830. But cholera was not contagious in India, nor was it attended with fever. Dysentery was common, but Typhus was rare in India. Diseases of the spleen occurred in tracts like Bengal, where there was a humid atmosphere and variable temperature, but not where there was a dry sandy soil and dry winds as in Upper India.

SECTION IV

DEATH STRUGGLE OF THE OLD ORDER: 1857-8

CHAPTER VIII

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MUTINY

MUTINY DESCRIBED IN THREE DIFFERENT WAYS

The Mutiny of 1857 is a most important, if terrible, event in British Indian history. It has been viewed and described in three different ways: (1) as a military revolt of the Bengal Army, pure and simple; (2) as an insurrection of the people of northern India against the fast-moving tide of British civilisation; and (3) as an unsuccessful War of Indian Independence. Some British writers have even treated it as a mere outbreak of savagery, unreasoning and unreasonable, in which all the Indians who participated were brutes and all the doings of the British, civilians and soldiers, were deeds of heroism, worthy of being commemorated as exhibiting the finest expression of the British character. We are not concerned here, either with the narration of events or with the purely political and military causes and consequences of that dreadful catastrophe. We shall try to see what cultural significance we can deduce from what we know, not only of the events themselves, but of what people thought of them, then and subsequently.

BRITISH NARRATIVES, BUT NO EXPLANATION OF MOTIVES FROM THE BEATEN SIDE

The task is not easy. Though a great deal of literature has gathered round the Mutiny, it has chiefly concerned itself with ascertaining concrete facts from the British point of view. From the nature of the case there is no narrative from the other side,* which could throw light on the objects and motives behind the movement, as viewed from the point of view of the parties which were beaten in the struggle. Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan wrote a little pamphlet on the Causes of the Indian Mutiny (*Risāla asbāb i baghāwat i Hindustān*), which was printed in

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* *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi*. translated by C. T. Metcalfe, London 1898, is hardly an exception. The first, a short one, was written by Mu 'inuddin Hasan Khan, who was afterwards most anxious to keep well in with the British. The second was written by Munshi Jiwan Lal, an actual employé of the British.

1859. He had done much during the Mutiny at Bijnaur to assist the British officers and their families and save their lives. He held high judicial office under the Government and received a reward of merit for loyal services. His object in writing the Pamphlet was to inform the Government of the real cultural causes of the Mutiny. And yet it was criticised by Sir Cecil Beadon (Foreign Secretary to the Government of India) as seditious, and apart from the copies which he sent to Government, no copies were then distributed in India*. They were merely sent to England for the information of public men. If that was the state of feeling at the time about even a loyalist's discussion of the Mutiny, what chance could there be that a narrative of any merit from the rebel point of view could possibly see the light? The poet Mirza Asadullāh Ghālib, who had lived in close touch with Bahadur Shah at Delhi before the Munity, and had been commissioned to write a history of the Timur family, was broken in spirt during the Mutiny, and he was reduced to such abject poverty that he could only write laudatory Qasīdas for the British authorities in order to save himself from starvation.

ASSUMPTIONS OF BRITISH HISTORIANS

The standard histories of the Mutiny are: Kaye and Malleson's History in 6 volumes and Mr. T. Rice Holmes's History in one volume. This last has already and deservedly passed through five editions. Both these are admirable and well-balanced works, but neither of these authors is interested in the cultural side of the question. Sir John Kaye's mode of looking at the matter is expressed by his statement in the Preface: "It was the vehement self-assertion of the Englishman that produced the Conflagration; it was the same vehement self-assertion that enabled him, by God's blessing, to trample it out."† Further on, in discussing the causes of the Mutiny in connection with Lord Dalhousie's administration, he

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*Altaf Husain Hāli: *Hayāt i Jāwed,* p. 71. The Pamphlet was reprinted many years afterwards at Agra, in 1903. An English translation was published by Sir Auckland Colvin and General G.F.I. Graham (Sir Saiyid's English biographer) in 1873.

† Kaye and Malleson's *History of the Indian Mutiny,* vol. 1, p. xi.

remarks that Lord Dalhousie's system "failed, perhaps, only because the people preferred darkness to light, folly to wisdom*." This makes two assumptions, both of which are very questionable. One assumption is that the issue was a simple one, of darkness or wisdom against light or folly; that the light and the wisdom were all on the side of Lord Dalhousie and his nation, and the darkness and the folly were all on the side not only of the Mutineers, but of the whole of the general discontent of which the Mutiny of the Bengal army was a symptom and expression. In reality the issue was not so simple, nor the folly or darkness all on one side. The second assumption is that the conquest of force by force in 1857-8 disposed of all the root-causes of the conflict, that all the errors of policy have been rectified, and that there is no cause for self-examination either by England or India as regards the passions and prejudices which flourished during the Mutiny period.

RACIAL FEELING AND HATRED

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in his speech at the Medical College, Calcutta, on the 19th April 1858, deplored among the many lamentable and melancholy results of the Mutiny, "that heated, embittered, and exasperated sentiment of antagonism of race, which has sprung up in so many minds." It was just such a spirit which animated the English papers of the period in attacking Lord Canning's "clemency" even when he sought to conciliate Indian feeling by rewards for loyal services†. Perhaps it is such a spirit which brings out from manuscript obscurity and publishes even at the present time personal narratives full of the passions and prejudices of that dark period.‡ Mr. Edward Thomson$ has already, as an Englishman, recorded his protest against such books as

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* Kay and Malleson, *History of the Indian Mutiny* I. 263.

† The *Indian Punch*, Meerut, 1859, (a British paper,) sarcastically observed that he had no time for compensation to Christians in giving gifts to the heathen.

‡ For example, see Mrs. Tytler's "Through the Sepoy Mutiny," in *Chamber's Journal*, London, January 1931 and subsequent numbers. It adds nothing to our historical information, and revives exploded theories, besides expressing racial prejudice and contempt.

$ In his book *The Other Side of the Medal*, London 1925.

Sir George Forrest's History of the Indian Mutiny, which record the excesses on one side, but not on the other. The better plan is to forget the excesses, except in books of scientific history, where both sides must be represented. If we examine the matter dispassionately, we shall find that very little race feeling found expression on the Indian side during the Mutiny period outside the ranks of the more violent rebels themselves. The papers of Bahadur Shah's government, seized at the capture of Delhi, use the very mild term "Karāni" (clerk) in speaking of the District officials of the East India Company. I wish it were possible to make the same claim for Indians at the present day. Our newspapers are full of bitter abuse and hatred, not only on racial, but on cultural and religious grounds, and not only against foreigners, but by sections of our people against each other. This passion of hatred and intolerance, or its more subdued form of suspicion, will have to give place to frank give-and-take and friendly understanding, if we are to have any cultural co-operation between India and England, between East and West, or between the different sections of our own people.

THE SENSE IN WHICH WE MUST UNDERSTAND THE CULTURAL CONFLICT

The cultural significance of the Mutiny lay in a cultural conflict. But that conflict must not be imagined in terms of a hatred between all members of a race culture as against all members of another race culture, or even against different cultures evolved by different races. If that were so, the case would be hopeless. There would be no lesson to be learnt, and no guidance in history for the future. Culture could not assimilate with culture, and human evolution would be stopped for ever. The cultural conflict should rather be visualised in this way. The British mental attitude and behaviour towards the people of India induced in the people of India a certain repugnance against the British, or, if looked at differently, a certain suspicion of their motives, a certain feeling that the motives professed were not sincere, and that the real motives were discreditable and could not be professed. This conflict would become personal, but it would be based upon conduct, behaviour, writings, speeches, institutions, laws, and the general manifestations of culture. This distinction between two kinds of cultural conflict is important. In the relations between the British and Indians it implied not the conflict of one culture with another, but the conflict of men of one culture with men of a variety of others, who acted together because they believed themselves to be slighted under a common ban. If we bear this distinction in mind, we shall also understand why there was no cultural conflict between Hindus and Muslims in pre-British days though there had been political and military conflicts, and why such Hindu-Muslim conflicts have raged with peculiar fury in our own days. We shall also understand how they became stilled in Delhi and over the country generally during the Mutiny. For no cows were killed in Delhi during the Mutiny; Bahadur Shah's Special Secretary during the brief days of his "Restoration" was Mukand Lal, a Hindu; many Walayati (Afghan) mercenaries fought on the side of the Hindu Mutineers, and the rebel Sepoys used British forms in military and judicial procedure, although they were fighting against British supremacy.

REVOLT ONLY CAUSED WHEN GOVERNMENT IS REPUGNANT TO THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan was right when he wrote, in his *Causes of the Indian Revolt*: "There is only one cause why this idea of rebellion is born in the minds of men. That is, the occurrence of such events as are repugnant to the nature and disposition, the wishes and ideas, the habits and customs, and the life and manners of those who rebel." The study of the Mutiny is only profitable if we try to understand in every detail the applications of this principle. The great mass of the people had not yet been touched to the quick by anything that had been done by the Company's government. They were not only not hostile but in many cases rendered active assistance to the Government. The Sepoy Army had been so touched; and so were the expropriated governing classes, not only in annexed territory but in territory directly administered by the British. They therefore readily joined in the insurrectionary movement. Sir Saiyid was clear that "there was no general conspiracy of the people to remove the rule of an alien people". Nor was there any aid to the movement either from Russia or Persia though a Persian invasion was often mentioned in the wild rumours that obtained currency in the bazaars and in rebel notices. The presence of Russian spies was also an obsession in the minds of British officers.

CULTURAL HOLD OF THE OUDH KINGS ON THEIR PEOPLE

The annexation of Oudh was really a cause of the dimensions which the rebel movement took in Oudh in sympathy with the Mutiny movement of the Bengal Army. There it was a real popular insurrection. Sir Saiyid does not go into its local causes or character, and he was not competent from his experience to discuss the Oudh rebellion. The Oudh province of the Mughal Empire had been raised to the status of a Kingdom, and the vanity of the Nawab-Wazir had been encouraged by Lord Hastings in order to drive a wedge between him and his titular sovereign the Mughal Emperor at Delhi. There was no love lost between Delhi and Lucknow, and therefore the extinction of the Oudh Kingdom could not have been resented at Delhi. But its extinction must, as a matter of constitutional theory, revive the question of the Emperor's reversionary rights. The Company had no treaty rights of administration in Oudh as they had in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The annexation was purely an act of autocracy. According to the standard British history* of the Mutiny, it was carried out in a "sudden and treacherous manner." It was true that maladministration was put forward to justify it, but the Oudh King had a reply to the charge of maladministration. And in any case popular opinion only considered the British plea as a lame excuse. In relation to the British Government the Oudh Kings had been faithful to their engagements; there was no charge that they had intrigued against the Company, or had been guilty of working against the Company. Oudh men had enlisted largely in the Company's Bengal Army, and their discontent in that army rapidly spread to the civil population of Oudh. The Oudh Kings had a great cultural hold over their people. Both Hindu and Muslim Taluqdars fought

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*Kaye and Malleson: *History of the Indian Mutiny,* IV. 379.

for the cause of his dynasty. The Taluqdar Beni Madho, when he could no longer hold his fort, surrendered the fort, but refused to surrender himself, saying that he "belonged to his King!"*.

NEITHER BAHADUR SHAH'S POLITICAL AMBITION NOR RELIGIOUS FANATICISM CAUSED THE MUTINY

It has often been asserted that the political ambitions of Bahadur Shah and his sons stirred up disaffection in the ranks of the Company's Army and thus caused the Mutiny. Bahadur Shah himself was more an artist than a politician. He was a poet and wrote under the name of Zafar. He was a calligraphist and copied the sacred Quran for mosques. He was a musician and composed popular Thumris, airs which are still current. There is no evidence that there was any concerted plan of rebellion in the Mutiny at all, and I think that the general evidence of authentic contemporary documents, including the statement of Bahadur Shah at his trial, and the fact that he was a passive rather than an active agent in the new government set up by the rebels, negative such a supposition. Though religion was used as a battle-cry the religious motive was of the thinnest. The Fatwa of *Jihād* (religious war), which the rebels printed at Delhi, was pronounced by Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan to be a forgery. On the contrary he asserts that the genuine Fatwa was against *Jihād*. A great number of Maulvis in Delhi considered that the ex-Emperor was not orthodox.

THE PART OF INDIA THAT REBELLED, AND WHY

The greased cartridges, the curtailment of Sepoy privileges, the Crimean and the Persian wars, the disallowance of adoption in State successions, the enactment of legislation contrary to age-long customs and prejudices,—these were the occasions rather than the causes, which brought about the Mutiny. The deep-seated causes were the want of confidence between India and England, which had been progressively increasing during the first half of the nineteenth century, and which was brought to a head in 1857. When we say "India" and "England" we

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*Kaye and Malleson: *History of the Indian Mutiny*, V. 203.

necessarily mean the India which precipitated the conflict, which was a small part of the people of India, and the English who were identified with the government of the Company, which included the whole of the English and semi-English population in India, to which were attached the Indian Christians of the north, who had no root in the soil. The bulk of the Indian population remained indifferent. That part which had personal responsibilities with the English people, such as domestic servants, fulfilled those responsibilities by a remarkably staunch adherence, even to the loss of their lives. Except in Oudh there was no abstract national feeling to bind Indians together either against or in favour of the British Government. The individual cases of heroic assistance to the British were governed either by feelings of pure humanity or of personal predilections.

WANT OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN OFFICERS AND MEN

What were the governing forces in the mind of the India which rebelled? The chief agent was the Bengal Army. Its faulty organisation and distribution were important incidents, but the vital defect was the want of confidence or understanding between the British officers and their Indian Sepoys. In the early days of the Sepoy army the personal nexus and confidence had been strong. Clive could do almost more with his Indian Sepoys than with his British followers. But the atmosphere had changed completely since those days. With extended conquests came more racial pride, and when it showed itself in the enforcement of discipline, a sensitive people, however they may suppress their feelings, must nurse it as a greater grievance in their hearts than much more tangible injuries. Such a grievance would be translated in terms of religion, or race, or material privileges, as was in fact done. No army could live as a healthy, efficient, and reliable organism, which was cut up in artificially or racially divided compartments. The flow of healthy blood as between officers and privates is essential to the life of a powerful army, as the flow of healthy blood as between the nobility and the commonalty is essential to the life of a developing or developed body-politic.

SEGREGATION IN THE RANKS OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT

The evil of racial segregation in the army was also visible in the civil government of the East India Company. Though the segregation is being remedied by slow stages in civil administration it still persists. The more recent tendency has been to quicken the pace of reform in civil as well as military administration, but the pace in the latter is enormously slower than in the former.

"LIVELIHOOD" AS A PRINCIPLE OF STATE-CRAFT

The Chinese reformer Sun-Yat-Sen, in his book called *The Three Principles of the People*, laid down "Livelihood" as one of the vital principles in the organisation of a living and healthy nation. It is certainly true that the mass of a people judges of the success of a government and is attached to it in proportion as it furthers their means of livelihood. About the middle of the nineteenth century there was a great deal of unemployment and poverty in the active element of the Indian population. Each annexation restricted more and more the area of Indian employment in positions of the highest honour and responsibility. Colonel Sleeman was at least worldly-wise in his advice about Oudh in 1852: "Assume the administration, but do not grasp the revenues". The second clause of his advice shows that he was conscious of the danger of curtailing the livelihood of the people or of appealing to high principles at the same time that the Company added to its own resources and riches. The resumption of Muafi (revenue-free) estates in British India earlier in the century had caused an uneasy feeling of the same kind.

NO OPPORTUNITIES OF TRAINING FOR HIGHEST INDIAN TALENT

Not only livelihood, but opportunities of training the highest talent in civil and military life, were being taken away from Indians, and given to British men. There was no secret about it. India was to be the training ground for British talent to be used in the service of Britain, or of India as a possession of Britain. The British Foreign Minister, George Canning, at a farewell banquet in London in 1827 to Sir John Malcolm on his appointment as Governor of Bombay, boasted that there was no monarchy "which within a given time had produced so many men of the first talents, in civil and military life, as India has first trained for hereself, and then given to their native country"* (*i. e*. Great Britain).

RACIAL CONTEMPT

A proud and sensitive people are swayed even more by their feelings than by their meterial interests. Colonel Sleeman, as British Resident in Lucknow, had treated the King of Oudh and his nobles with scant courtesy. When Oudh was annexed and its government handed over to the tender mercies of Coverley Jackson, his inconsiderate treatment of the Taluqdars and of the ex-King's dependants became almost a bye-word in the country. He was hot-tempered and wanting in tact. Other administrators, greater and more famous than he, worded their public utterances in polished terms of politeness, but it is clear from their private correspondence what contempt they felt for the people from whose country they drew their training and their emoluments. Lord Dalhousie wrote on the 18th August 1853: "The King of Oudh seems disposed to be bumptious. I wish he would be. To swallow him before I go would give me satisfaction. The old King of Delhi is dying. If it had not been for the effete folly of the Court (of Directors, East India Company), I would have ended with him the dynasty of Timour."† Bishop Heber almost foresaw the Mutiny when he wrote on September 7th 1824: "The natives do not really like us, and...if a fair opportunity be offered, the Mussulmans, more particularly, would gladly avail themselves of it to rise against us...(The feeling) has been increased of late years by the conduct of Lord Hastings to the old Emperor of Delhi, a conduct which has been pursued by successive administrations, but which entirely differed from the outward respect and allegiance which the Company's officers had professed to pay him, from Lord Clive downwards."‡

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* Kaye and Malleson, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, I. 276, note.

† *Private Letters*, edited by J. G. A. Baird, p. 262.

‡ Bishop Heber's *Journey*, i. 393-4.

DEGRADATION IN POSITION OF THE EMPEROR: FEELING OF INSECURITY AND DISMAY

Political and social considerations get inextricably mixed up in India. Though it is not my intention to deal with political history as such, it is necessary to recall the steps in the degredation of the position of the Emperor in order to explain the feeling of insecurity and dismay which had spread over India in the middle of the nineteenth century. There was a feeling of injury and resentment; a feeling that as the Company grew stronger in power, it disregarded its earlier promises or understandings, and that it encroached more and more on the established *status quo*, which it respected only so long as it suited its purpose.

ATTRIBUTES OF SOVEREIGNTY TAKEN AWAY WITHOUT REASONS THAT THE PEOPLE COULD RECOGNISE

The Mughal Emperor had never been formally deposed by the East India Company, and there was nothing in his dealings with the Company which justified his being treated worse in 1853 than in 1803. When Lord Lake took Delhi in 1803, and secured the person of the Emperor, Shah Alam was treated with every mark of respect. The Company stepped into the position of Sindhia, who had controlled Delhi in the name (at least nominally and constitutionally) of the Emperor, who had bestowed on him the highest title in the Empire. On General Lake as representing the Company the Emperor now bestowed the second highest set of titles,—Samsām-ud-Daula, Azhgar-ul-mulk, Khān-Daurān-Khān, Fateh-Jang. Lord Lake was proud of these titles, as from "a legitimate sovereign, of a lineage second to none in the world"*. It is true the Emperor received a pension, but he was not subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts, and kept some sort of state in his Palace in Delhi. The Company gave up calling him Emperor in English and began calling him King of Delhi, but neither he nor his two successors Akbar Shah (1806-37) and Bahadur Shah II (1837-57) agreed to the lowering of their status, and they continued to be called, in Persian, Pādishāh, which was the title of

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*Colonel Hugh Pearse, *Life of Viscount Lake*, p. 203.

the Mughal Emperors in India in their palmiest days. They continued to bestow titles of honour until 1828, when the Company ceased to recognise such titles except when bestowed on the immediate dependants of the Pādishāh. The Company continued to issue coins in the name of the Mughal Emperor until 1835, when the first coins were issued in India in the name of the British King, William IV. In that year, also, the Company forbade the reception, without its sanction, of the Vakils (representatives) of country Powers at the Court of Delhi. Nazars continued to be offered, even by the Governor-General, until the time of Lord Hastings, whom Bishop Heber criticised for lack of courtesy. The officers of the Company, however, continued to offer Nazars until they were stopped by Lord Ellenborough in 1843. In 1853 the Governor-General refused to receive a resident Vakil from Bahadur Shah himself, thus reducing him to the position of a private person. About the same time proposals were made to oust Bahadur Shah or his heirs from the Fort of Delhi itself, and to reduce or stop the pension altogether after his death.

RESENTMENT AND FEELING OF INJUSTICE IN THE PUBLIC MIND

There can be no doubt that all these steps were bitterly resented by the Delhi family, as the stoppage of a pension was resented by the descendants of the Poona Peshwas at Bithur. Not only were they resented by the families concerned, but Indian public opinion generally condemned them as unjust, as contrary to the obligations incurred by the Company in consideration of past transactions, and as mere evidence of a desire to exercise brute force now that the Company had power to do so. To do the Company justice, the Court of Directors considered the proposal to oust the Emperor from Delhi "unjust, gratuitously offensive, and calculated to produce an injurious effect on British reputation"*. We are not concerned here with the political expediency or necessity of such steps. The point is what the feeling about them was in the public mind in India. There is no question that at various times the Emperor himself had advanced

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* Kaye and Malleson, II. 16.

"pretensions" which the Company had felt called upon to repress. Among such "pretensions" a Legitimist lawyer could frame the following: that the Emperor's pension was the tribute paid by the Company in virtue of past arrangement and treaties; that the Company was administering territories for him, as the Marathas had in constitutional theory done before the Company; that the Company's authority was derived from his farmāns in so far as it was covered by farmāns, and was mere illegal usurpation in so far as it was not so covered; and that the Company and the Company's Army owed allegiance to him. This argument has been developed with considerable force by Mr. F. W. Buckler in an article on the Political Theory of the Indian Mutiny, in the Royal Historical Society's Transactions.* A refutation of the argument was attempted by Messrs. D. Dewar and H. L. Garrett,† mainly on the ground that the Delhi family in accepting the pension had given up their power. It is not disputed that they had lost effective power. That had happened even before 1803. But legally and constitutionally the Delhi house had never been set aside from the position they had occupied when they granted the Diwani to the Company in 1765.

ATTITUDE OF INDIAN MIND NOT UNDERSTOOD

And the trial of Bahadur Shah before a military Court after the Mutiny as a British subject guilty of treason, was an illustration of how little the attitude of the Indian mind could have been understood at the time. The Company could have dealt with Bahadur Shah by right of conquest or as a political prisoner, as in fact they did. But it was an anomaly to call it a trial, as of an ordinary criminal, when the military officers who sat as judges, had very little idea of the admissibility of evidence; the prisoner had already been promised that his life would be spared; and the feeling in the Army ran so high that the civil population of Delhi scarcely dared show their faces on account of the terror of the events which had so recently happened before their eyes, including the shooting of the unresisting sons of Bahadur Shah by Major William Hodson after Bahadur Shah's own person had been secured. Hodson's conduct, though condemned by historians, was approved by his contemporary British officers.

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*4th Series, Vol. 5, 1922.

† Royal Historical Society's Transactions, 4th Series, Vol. 7, 1924—Paper dated 8th November 1923.

SUBSEQUENT FEELING OF TERROR AND OPPRESSION

Of the feeling of terror and oppression in the mind of the Delhi population after its capture in September 1857 we have indisputable evidence in the life of so eminent a loyalist as Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan himself. He came to search for his own mother in Delhi, and found her concealed with a Syce (a groom, a menial employed in tending horses). On his calling out to her, she opened the door, crying out, "Why have you come here? All are being killed. You will be killed also." For five days she had been living on the horses's grain, and for three days she had had no water. She was in great privation, in company with an old woman, who died even in the very act of the rescue. The Saiyid's uncle and cousin, unarmed, were killed by the Sikhs. There was much pillage in the city.* Many priceless manuscripts were lost in the loot. In the Life of the poet Zauq, by Ahmad Husain Khan, we read (p. 5.): "In the revolution of 1857 hundreds of women who had committed no fault were burnt alive like fireworks, and hundreds of innocent children were killed by the sword of cruelty." This is not contemporary evidence, and cannot be advanced as evidence of facts. Zauq died before the Mutiny. But it is a good index to the feeling of the people, among whom the writer held a good literary position. The poet Ghalib shut himself up in his house during the Mutiny. Though, in his Persian *Dastanbū*, he does full justice to the moderation of the British soldiers, he describes the feeling of terror and insecurity after the capture of Delhi, and the prospect of unrelieved gloom with which men like him faced the future. "The (moral) climate of this city (Delhi)," he says, "is no longer agreeable to our wounded hearts."† And popular feeling has created a wholly legendary version of the Mutiny in such works as *Mātam i Shāh Zafar*, Zafar being the poetical name of the ill-fated Bahadur Shah.*

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* Major-General G.F.I. Graham: *Life of Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan*, p. 21.
† Altaf Husain Hali, *Yadgar i Ghalib*, p. 38.

URDU NEWSPAPERS DURING THE MUTINY

There were several Urdu newspapers in Delhi during the Mutiny. There was Bahadur Shah's own paper *Sirāj-ul-Akhbār*, published in the royal lithographic press in the Palace. But it only described events, and scarcely throws any light on the motives and intentions behind those events. This is what might have been expected, as Bahadur Shah only played a passive part throughout, and was more or less in the hands of the Sepoys who had mutinied and made Delhi their headquarters. There were two other Urdu papers in Delhi, the Delhi *Urdu Akhbār* and the *Sādiq-ul-Akhbār*; and an Urdu paper in Lucknow, the *Tilism-i-Lakhnau*, of which we hear in the proceedings after the Mutiny. These were mostly full of wild rumours or of bare records of what was happening. They throw little light on the organisation of the rebels, or the ideas and motives behind their actions. One other Delhi paper was that of the Editor Chuni. He did not print a lithographed sheet. He had not even a proper title to his newspaper. He merely wrote down, in manuscript, rumours and news that he heard, and sometimes manufactured, and went round and read it to his subscribers. There were probably many others who followed the same method in the supply of news. It was a characteristic method, and is even now used with proper lithographed newspapers in the circulation of news in the bazaars.

REBEL LEADERSHIP, AND THEIR BOND OF COMMON ACTION

There was hardly any leadership in Delhi. The real leaders which the Mutiny threw up on the rebel side were scattered about elsewhere. Three could be named: Tantia Topi, Kunwar Singh, and the Fyzebad Maulvi Ahmadullah. Of Tantia we do not know the antecedents. He was a Brahman, who fought in the cause of Nana Saheb, of Bithur, and with marvellous mobility and mental resource, but scanty material resources, maintained a two years' fight with the Company's well-equipped generals.

**Mātam i Shāh* by Kāzib, Madras 1908.

Kunwar Singh was a landholding Rajput who had a grievance against the Company's Courts. Ahmadullah was a learned man, attached to the Court of the Queen of Oudh. They all fought in widely separated areas: Tantia in Central India, Kunwar Singh round about Dinapur and Arrah, and Ahmadullah in Oudh. They had no common plan and had no means of communicating with each other. In race, caste, and religion they were different, but they all acted under a common cultural impulse. Their private grievances were swallowed up in the larger grievances of the cause which each represented. There was a sense of political resentment and the idea that the Company stood for the destruction of all that they considered valuable in social and cultural life. That was the bond that held them together and the whole of the active men during the Mutiny.

REBEL INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANISATION

Though the rebels were inimical to the culture represented by the Company, they were themselves brought up in that culture, and followed the forms and methods they had learnt in British India. The constitution of the Court which they established in Delhi, during their occupation, used English titles for the officers of their Court, such as President, Vice-President, Secretary, etc. They did not use such words as Judge or Qazi. It was because they were soldiers, and thinking of military courts. Their procedure, however, was democratic. They followed their own ideas and resented the interference of the Princes, the sons of Bahadur Shah. They even complained to Bahadur Shah when the Princes tried to interfere. The Corps of the Indian army which mutinied, fought as units or brigades. They went into action with their bands playing the same old airs and their bugles sounding the same old calls as they had been accustomed to in British service. Sometimes they even played "God Save the Queen" and fought with British colours flying. The Subadar of artillery, Bakht Khan, who became a General and Commander-in-Chief in Delhi during the rebel occupation, had been fond of English society before the Mutiny. In their very protest against the culture they were fighting, they used the methods and symbols identified with that culture. The culture which was vaguely in their hearts was dead, and could not be revived by force of arms.*

MEN WHO FAVOURED ENGLISH IDEAS

The antithesis of these men was to be found in the men who had adopted the new ways of thought and new conditions of life. They used the English language and were mainly to be found in Calcutta and the large cities. They were few in number, but both their number and their influence were increasing. This increase alarmed the men of the older ways of thinking and in their ignorance they sought a solution by way of a military conspiracy and revolt. They did not realise that they lacked both the material and the cultural means by which battles are fought and won. Their cause was hopeless from the first, and when it was suppressed it remained a memory of ruthless violence and ineffectual resistance. On the other hand the men who were assimilating the new ideas were not by any means impressed by the men who brought these ideas. The Anglicised Indians saw the value of the machinery, but could not see that the men behind it were any better than themselves. Indeed they saw the failings and shortcomings of their new rulers even better than the men of the older culture, because of the new light in which they could see them. With the new light they could glorify themselves or exalt their own past and thus build a bridge between themselves and the most pronounced reactionaries. Two generations were needed to accomplish this transformation.

WHY THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE ASSOCIATED WITH GOVERNMENT

Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan considers as the root cause of the Mutiny the fact that Indians were not associated with the British in the Legislative Councils of their country. This may sound like an anachronism considering

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*For the last three paragraphs, besides the usual histories, I have used: (1) The Mutiny papers in the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta, of which a Press-List has been issued; (2) Evidence taken at the Trial of the King of Delhi; and (3) Colonel Gimlette: *Postscript to the Records of the Indian Mutiny.*

the circle of ideas in which the Mutineers moved. But when we examine it closely we shall find that there is a great deal of reason behind it. He says: "every one admits that it is necessary for the stability, efficiency, and proper conduct of a Government, that the people governed should be associated with it. It is only from the people that the rulers can understand whether their measures are good or bad in the eyes of the people...The wishes of the people were not understood by the Government, and the good intentions of the Government were not clear to the people. On the contrary the people attributed evil intentions to the Government." No Government can fulfil its purpose unless it is in close and constant contact with the ideas of the people and has machinery by which that contact can be constantly and efficiently maintained.

LESSON FOR BRITAIN AND INDIA

The union of one people with another is possible, and has often led to new civilisations even after sanguinary conflicts. The co-operation of one people with another in mutual self-respect and in furtherance of common interests can have the happiest results if not directed against any other group. But the subjection of one people to another can lead neither to stability nor progress. All talk of a mission of one people to another must necessarily be insincere in a whole people, however sincere it may be in individuals. Subjection must mean economic and cultural deterioration in the subject people. When in a composite Empire it is accompanied by discrimination as between one unit and another, or by cross purposes, or arrogance, or misunderstandings, or want of sincerity or mutual confidence, it can only produce frictions and conflicts which no well-governed State can afford to risk. This is the cultural lesson of the Mutiny, both for the British and for the Indians.

SECTION V

ASCENDANCY OF ENGLISH IDEAS 1858-1885

CHAPTER IX

GENERAL FEATURES, EDUCATION, RELIGION, AND LITERATURE

ASCENDANCY OF NEW IDEAS IN LITERATURE AND RELIGIOUS ORGANISATION

In the post-Mutiny period down to 1885 a new orientation is strongly marked in the Indian mind. The ascendancy of British ideas became the dominant feature. The extremely conservative element—that which looked upon British civilisation as something alien and hostile, something inferior and transitory, something to be endured like small-pox or measles—had been given its death-blow by the Mutiny. Even the individuals bred in that earlier attitude who survived and retained any influence, could not resist the new time-spirit. Ghalib in literature lost ground as a writer of Ghazls but gained immensely in influence as the founder of a new epistolary style in Urdu—chaste, direct, and homely. His pupil Altāf Husain Hāli produced a revolution in Urdu poetry, both in its form and subject-matter. In Hindu religious reform, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore's mysticism gave place to the more practical organisation of Keshub Chunder Sen in Bengal, and the frankly nationalistic organisation of Swami Dayanand Saraswati in northern India. The new reaction against British supremacy came after a generation. The seeds buried in the ground have germinated with new strength and are producing an abundant crop.

HOW ENGLISH EDUCATION BECAME THE DIVIDING LINE IN SOCIAL CLASSES, COMMUNITIES, INDUSTRIES AND PROFESSIONS

In education we no longer strained after European ideas as a novelty. We took over the type of the London University organisation, and moulded it to our needs and purposes. Our early graduates were like priests or apostles of a new civilisation. Their dazzling success in life also recommended their example for popular acceptance. A certain gulf now began to yawn between the new-born intelligentsia and the old-fashioned people.

The test of being on the right side of the gulf was English education. While the Province of Bengal began to lose its primacy owing to the spread of English education elsewhere, the Bengalis—as having been trained longer in English education—began to spread over other Provinces and to occupy positions of importance everywhere. The profits of English education also created a gulf between the Hindus and Muslims as communities—the Muslims having for many generations lost the start of the other communities in English education. Our older arts and industries also languished,—and newer ones founded after the pattern of British industrialism began to rear their heads and despise their earlier predecessors. A similar gulf began to divide town and country. Old towns decayed and began to assimilate with the country: agriculture began to sink in profit and public esteem: the intelligence of the country began to be attracted to towns and town occupations: and the Zamindars became relatively less important in public life than the English educated professional classes. The latter also fostered ideas of public life on lines which ultimately took shape in the Indian National Congress in 1885.

FOUR PHASES OF RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

We may take up the religious developments of this period under four heads: the further growth of Theism in Bengal in the Brahmo Somaj movement: the Muslim modernist movement associated with the name of Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan, of Aligarh; the strong fighting nationalistic movement of the Arya Samaj; and the decline of a real religious sentiment among the circles of influential men in India, and its replacement by a latitudinarian, communalistic, or nationalistic sentiment. This was more marked in the subsequent period, but its roots lie embedded in the growth of cultural ideas in this period.

BRAHMO SOMAJ: KESHUB CHUNDER SEN SEPARATES FROM THE MAHARSHI

We saw in Chapter VI how Maharshi Devendranath Tagore took up and strengthened Raja Ram Mohan Roy's theistic movement and gave it definite form and shape, and how he installed his new recruit Keshub Chunder Sen

(1838-1884) as its Acharya or minister. But Tagore's mind was in essence that of an aristocrat and conservative. He still looked back to ancient India for purity of morals and religion. The God of his worship was the Brahma of the Upanishads. The new India that had arisen at the call of British culture had little appeal for him. It cried out for immediate reform in the Hindu social system; for the remarriage of widows; for intermarriage beyond the barriers hitherto recognised as impassable by Hindus; for the abolition of the sacred thread as a symbol of the "twice-born castes," even in the case of an Acharya; and for a recognition of the teaching of Jesus and the Bible, and of the Prophet Muhammad and Islam. These principles found their mouthpiece in Keshub Chunder Sen. In 1863 Keshub actually solemnised a marriage between members of different castes. The rift between him and the Maharshi widened, until Keshub definitely withdrew from the Maharshi's organisation in February 1865.

KESHUB'S PRINCIPLES

After this Keshub began to work out his own ideas, and with his impassioned eloquence, gave them a more pronounced, popular and universal tone. The modern Brahmo Somaj looks upon Keshub as its real founder. His meeting of November 1866 definitely set the seal to a gospel of universality. Extracts from all the Scriptures were to be read in the Somaj services—Christian, Hindu (including Bddhist), Muslim, Parsi, and Chinese. These were mentioned, but the spirit of the teaching would include the scriptures of every people and sect. In the Maghotsav address of 1864, in the Adi (or old) Somaj, Keshub had said: "The world is our sanctuary, natural wisdom is our sacred scripture, worship is our means of salvation, purification of the hearts is our attainment, and every pious man is our teacher and guide." These are very wide terms, and they are echoed in the motto of the Brahmo Somaj: "This wide universe is the sacred temple of God; the pure in heart the most sacred of shrines; Truth is the ever-lasting scripture; Faith is the root of all religion; Love is the true spiritual culture; the destruction of selfishness is true asceticism." In practice the Somaj has drawn nearer and nearer to Free Church Christianity. Its special insistence on the position of women has made it a potent social force, and female education of an advanced order has been the result. Keshub himself, as early as 1862, shared the ministry of the Somaj with his wife.

HIS MISSIONARY ZEAL: THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE NEW DISPENSATION

Keshub organised his new body and sent out his missionaries. Pratap Chunder Mozumdar (1840-1905) was one of his most distinguished missionaries, for he travelled throughout India (including Southern India) in 1870. He subsequently visited England and America twice. He carried Keshub's flag and was the most prominent exponent of Keshub's doctrines after Keshub's death, having held a prominent place in the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1895. Keshub himself visited England in 1870, and was received by Queen Victoria. On his return he threw himself into Indian reform, and formed an association for the purpose, dealing with five heads of work, *viz.* female improvement, education, the dissemination of cheap literature, the preaching of temperance, and the organisation of charity. In 1872 he got the Civil Marriage Act passed, thus making a definite break with Hindu society, both in the matter of idolatrous rites and child marriage. In 1878 the marriage of Keshub's daughter at an immature age to the Maharaja of Kuch Behar with "idolatrous rites" raised a storm of controversy in the Somaj, from whose ministry Keshub was dismissed. But the rift between Keshub and the Somaj had been growing for some time. It was a matter of temperament. Keshub's mysticism, his belief in his own inspiration, and his general leaning towards a doctrine of intuition, were inconsistent with the prevailing tone of the Somaj, which went by rules and the votes of majorities. The schism of 1878 thus gave rise to the Sadhāran Brahmo Somaj (the General Body, working on the lines of the Free Churches of the West). Keshub then definitely announced (January 1881) his New Dispensation (*Nava Vidhan*), of which he claimed to be the inspired Apostle. He died in January 1884. There are thus three bodies marching under the Brahmo banner: the old or Adi Somaj, small in numbers and aristocratic in constitution; this body does not come under the Marriage Act of 1872, and has its own marriage ritual; the general or Sadhāran body, resting upon an ordinary practical secular organisation; and the New Dispensation, with mystical doctrines. The last claims in its universality to have emancipated itself from Hindu forms and ceremonies, but this is difficult to achieve in practice. The Somaj has its chief influence in modern Bengal.

BRAHMO IDEAS OUTSIDE BENGAL

The Prarthna Samaj in Bombay (established in 1867) had among its notable leaders M. G. Ranade (1842-1901) and N. G. Chandavarkar (1855-1923), both leaders of exceptional eminence in social reform. The Depressed Classes Mission (1906) and the Social Service League of the late Sir N. G. Chandavarkar represent a great advance in practical reform. The Prarthna Samaj has its Marathi centres in Bombay and Poona and a Gujarati centre in Ahmedabad. These and eighteen Dravidian centres in the Madras Presidency represent offshoots of the Brahmo idea in western and southern India. The foundation of the Dayal Singh College in Lahore (1910), under the will of the late Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia, was an attempt to transplant it to the Punjab, but the Brahmo cult has not taken root there. The more active Arya Samaj has rendered the Dayal Singh College somewhat inert as an agency for religious reform, though it continues to exert its influence in uncongenial surroundings, and counts as a factor in Punjab education.

ARYA SAMAJ AND ITS FOUNDER

The Arya movement was established in Bombay in 1875. Its prominence and practical successes came after 1885, and chiefly in the Punjab and the United Provinces. Its founder, Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883), was born of a Brahman family in Morvi in the peninsula of Kathiawar in Western India. He was deeply attached to Sanskrit and religious studies, and left his home for Benares, the spiritual home of Hinduism, at the age of nineteen. For fifteen years, from 1845 to 1860, he wandered all over India as a Sanyasi devoted to study and Yoga. He soon acquired a repugnance to the Puranic forms of Hinduism, and wished to restore it to its ancient Vedic purity. By 1870 his position as an expounder of the Vedas was recognised in the Hindu world, though his views as to interpretation differed from those of Orthodox Hindus. His Society or Samaj was definitely constituted in Bombay, as already stated, in 1875, and two years later in Lahore. The remaining six years of his life the Swami spent in preaching, teaching, and writing books, and in fostering the infant Samaj and its branches. In Rajputana he won notable disciples in the Maharana of Udaipur and in the late Maharaja Sir Partab Singh, of Idar. His chief literary work was the *Satyārtha Prakāsh* (the True Exposition), of which at least two English translations have been published. As a preacher of the unity of God and a repudiator of idolatry, he won the good opinion of Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan, who wrote a favourable obituary notice of him in his Aligarh paper.

SWAMI DAYANAND'S TEACHING

Swami Dayanand's teaching centres around his attitude to the Vedas. He attacked the monopoly by the Brahmans of the right to study or hear the Vedas, and swept away a great part of the current interpretation of those Scriptures. He not only attacked the commentaries of later Hinduism but rejected the conclusions of western scholars in their interpretation of their meaning and place in history. To him the true and original Vedic hymns included all knowledge, arts, and sciences, and he looked upon all modern discoveries and inventions as having been anticipated in a golden age of Hinduism. Caste, in his view, was determined by individual merit and worth. Idol-worship and polytheism he rejected, as also Vedantic pantheism and incarnations. He allowed, however, for a possibility of the existence of Devatas, or superior created beings or angels. Agni, or fire, plays a large part in his ritual, and the Homa-sacrifice, *i. e.* the burning of *ghi* (clarified butter) in the fire, to the chant of Vedic texts, is a characteristic rite of Samaj worship.

SAMAJ ORGANISATION

The strongest point of the Arya Samaj is its organisation. Every local centre has its own Samaj or congregation, with five elected officers and an elected Committee. Effective membership requires the payment by each member of one per cent of his income and the acceptance of the ten Niyams or principles. The first three of these principles concern the attributes of God and the Vedas; the next six relate to moral conduct; and the last or tenth, while allowing freedom in strictly personal matters, forbids any one's individuality to interfere with the general good. The local Arya Samajes are affiliated to a Provincial Assembly, to which each local Samaj sends representatives and financial contributions of ten per cent of its own gross income. Over all is the All-India Assembly similarly organised and maintained. The creed and principles are fixed, but business and propaganda are carried on on well-defined representative principles, embodied in a fairly strong national organisation.

EDUCATIONAL AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

Its educational activities are fairly wide-spread and may be considered under two heads. First there is the work of education on modern lines, co-ordinated with State schools and universities, but with a pronounced Vedic or Sanskrit tinge. The precursor in this line was the Anglo-Vedic school in Lahore in 1886, followed by the College, opened in 1889. The second stream of educational thought finds expression in the Gurukula at Kangri, which goes back to more ancient ideals and appears to the more modern party to be less practical and more dissociated from modern life. These opposing views, as well as the allowance or disallowance of meat diet, caused a split in the Arya Samaj in 1892. In later times the Samaj came into antagonism with the Muslims and with the Government. But they claim through their leaders that there is no necessary antagonism to either on the part of the Samaj as a body. The strong nationalist doctrines of the Samaj have made its numerical growth rapid, and its leaders, like the late Lala Lajpat Rai, have been in the front rank of the advanced nationalist movement.

MAHARAJ LIBEL CASE

The religious self-examination of India is not to be measured by the numbers of societies or separate organisations that were started. Every fresh religious impulse had its reactions in unexpected quarters. English education was a leaven working in the mind of India not less in regard to its religious or pseudo-religious ideas than in regard to its social, literary, or political standards. Publicity was of the essence of reform, and the growth of the Press was a powerful engine for bringing questionable practices into broad daylight, and superstitions into line with modern notions. The celebrated Maharaj Libel Case in Bombay, 1862, is a startling illustration of how the head of a sect was compelled to submit its principles and practices to the bar of modern opinion through the Press and the Law Courts. The Vallabhcharya sect (of Maharajas), an offshoot of Vaishnavism, arose among the Bhatias about the 15th century, and was based on the absolute religious authority of its head (the Maharaj) over all members of his community. He was a Brahman, and was identified with Krishna. The sex rites connected with a debased form of Krishna worship had created a horrible tradition. It was said that a man was expected to make over his wife or daughter to the Maharaj. An attack was launched against these practices and against the Maharaj by Karsandas Mulji, editor and proprietor of the Gujarati paper, the *Satya Prakash* of Bombay. A libel case resulted, lasting for 24 days, resulting in an exposure of the evils and a vindication of the paper. The Judge, Sir Joseph Arnould, in his judgment, commended the public spirit of the defendents on behalf of their community, "whose homes", he said, "they have helped to cleanse from loathsome lewdness and whose souls they have set free from a debasing bondage".

TWO GREAT NAMES IN MUSLIM REFORM MOVEMENT

The two great names in the exposition of Islam and reform in the Muslim community during this period are those of Maulvi Chirāgh 'Ali (Nawab A'zam Yār Jang) and Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan. Chirāgh 'Ali was the man of learning and the researcher, and wrote mainly in

English and addressed his appeal to men of other communities, the Christians and the Arya Samajists. Sir Saiyid was the man of action, the educater and the reformer. He wrote in Urdu, and addressed his appeal to his own community, backing it up with his paper the *Tahzīb-ul-Akhlāq* and with his school and college at Aligarh. They were friends and associates, and worked together for many years, though the scenes of their labours were geographically far apart.

CHIRĀGH 'ALI AND HIS WORK

Maulvi Chirāgh 'Ali was born in Meerut about the year 1844. His father died when he was only twelve years of age, and his education was certainly not of a high order. After filling various small clerical posts in the service of the British Government, he found his opportunity in 1877. On Sir Saiyid's recommendation he was sent to a high post in Hyderabad, where he lived to the end of his days. He died in Bombay after an operation in 1895. He had acquired his great command of English, and his power of research and exposition, by his own studies in his spare time. The Muslims had for two generations stood aside from English education and were losing ground in the administrative services in British India, though such services had been their mainstay in pre-British days. What was worse still, they were distrustful of modern knowledge and had begun in their ignorance to associate many superstitions and evil customs with their religion. Chirāgh 'Ali by his literary work was instrumental in calling their attention to the true spirit of their marriage laws in favour of monogamy, to the true relation of Islam to the modern sciences (*ulūm i Jadīda*), and to the position of women.

SIR SAIYID AHMED KHAN: HIS LIFE

But the most effective work in modernisation in Islam was done by Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan (1817-1898), the Grand Old Man of Aligarh. We have already referred to his views on government and administration and his early contribution to Urdu Literature. Later we shall refer to his work in education. Here we are concerned with his religious exposition of Islam and his attitude to modern knowledge. Long before the Mutiny he had written an essay (1849) on the abuses of the system of Pīri and Murīdi as practised in India. This system involved a sort of blind faith in a spiritual leader, who gave mystic pass-words and claimed (not always correctly) to follow the path of a recognised Sūfi School. In 1866 the Saiyid wrote against religious objections that had been made by ignorant Muslims against taking meals with Europeans (*Risāla ta'ām Ahl i Kitāb*) thus cordially accepting and recommending the need for frank social intercourse between Muslims and Europeans. He also wrote against slavery as repugnant to Islam. His visit to England in 1869-70 was fruitful in bringing him into personal touch with British culture in the home of the British people, and he did not forget to apply his experiences to the exposition of Islam in the *Tasānīf i Ahmadīya*, a series which began to be published in Urdu (type-printed) on his return from England. Another result of his English visit was the publication of his Periodical *Tahzīb-ul-Akhlāq*, which started in December 1870. His liberal views raised a storm of controversy, but on the other hand rallied round him many men of the old learning, who were willing to support him in his modern views of life and religion, and who afterwards used the Aligarh College for that purpose. We have only to mention Nazīr Ahmad and Altāf Husain Hāli, out of numerous names, to realise Sir Saiyid's influence over men of the older generation in bringing them over to co-operate in moulding the minds of younger generations on new lines. Retiring in 1876 from the judicial service he devoted himself to educational work till his death in 1898. The Knighthood of the Star of India was conferred on him in 1888.

HIS RELIGIOUS VIEWS

Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan's religious views will be found in his Commentaries on the *Qur-ān*, over which he laboured for many years. The value of his work lies in the new point of view which he brought to bear in interpretation. Even those who, like Maulāna Hāli, are unable to accept his philological or historical arguments, consider that this work constituted Sir Saiyid's service to Islam in an eminent degree. Sir Saiyid criticised a vast mass of theological literature in the light of his own experience and under the test of history. If the interpretations put upon Islamic doctrines were contrary to the nature of things or to the course of history, it was not the fault of the doctrines but of the limited knowledge and the narrow outlook of the interpreters. The Word of God, he said, should be interpreted by the Work of God, which lies open before all to see. His views were ridiculed and abused by the older schools, but he gradually established a modern standard of judgment which has prevailed. Some of his views he was able to support by the undoubted authority of Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz Muhaddis of Delhi, the learned theologian whom we have already mentioned in an earlier chapter (Chapter VI.). The strictures made in the Urdu Press on his social and religious views prevented the formation of a separate school of thought on his lines. But his attitude of mind was nick-named the "Nature School," (*Nechariya firqa*), *i.e.* the one that followed Nature, though in a different sense from that in which the phrase was used by the Stotics of classical Greece. The *Nechariya* school was supposed to be identified with the Aligarh College. But Sir Saiyid wisely kept his educational work free from any theological bias. Indeed the various theological schools of thought, Shia and Sunni, were given free scope in the College. But the failure to develop a religious atmosphere of a liberal kind, which might have affected the religious thought of Islam in India generally, has been one of the criticisms of the Aligarh movement, which has not yet been met.

GROWTH OF LATITUDINARIANISM AND COMMUNALISM

While all these reform movements in religion were going on all over India, led by earnest men, a real decline in religious sentiment was also creeping over educated India. It either took the form of laughing at the reformers and treating old customs and beliefs with a toleration accompanied by a mental reservation, or else a latitudinarianism which frankly treated religion as out of date. In the *Bengalee* newspaper of the 10th November 1866, Grish Chunder Ghose attacked the Brahmo reformers for what he called "their heroics against idolatry", calling these views "hypocrisy and cant" in another place. "The Brahmo," he says, "shuts his eyes and repeats what he, in the smallness of his soul, and the confinement of his knowledge, conceives to be the attributes of the Lord." On the 1st December 1866 he spoke of the "simultaneous worship of Kali and of Kant;" to the educated Hindu, he said, "religion is a sentiment, not a belief;" those who were giving up idolatry had "no sensational horror of idolatry." Sir Rabindranath Tagore, in his autobiography,* describes two attitudes of mind towards religion among the educated young men of India in the days of his youth, say about 1880. One was argumentative atheism, an aggressive insistence or logic against belief. The other was religious epicureanism: religion was a matter of ceremonial and outward forms; and these were to be pleasing sights, sounds, and scents rather than ascetic practices. Both the sense worship and the shallow rationalism came with the influences of a superficial English education, and, chiefly prevailed in Bengal. They are unsuited to the genius of India, both Hindu and Muslim, though it must be admitted that they dominated Indian Colleges and still exert great influence in circles of wealth and luxury. A younger generation was growing up, educated in English, which cared more for politics than religion, though it was willing to use the cloak of religion for various sectional and communal movements, of which the baneful effects are appearing more plainly in our own generation.

EDUCATION: UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

In the general educational field the two remarkable movements were the growth and popularity of the Universities and the Muslim educational movement centred round Aligarh. The three Presidency Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were established in 1857. Their examination system immediately affected the Colleges which had existed before them, and new Colleges began to spring up to meet the growing demand for a unified and purely English system of higher education. In Upper India, however, Oriental learning continued to hold its own. The Canning College in Lucknow was endowed by the Taluqdars of Oudh in 1864, and receives its main income from a cess on land revenue collected by Government with the land revenue. Its Oriental Department marked out its work as different from the work of the Presidency Universities. When the Oriental College at Lahore, started in 1864, became the nucleus of the Punjab University in 1882, the Lucknow Oriental Department was affiliated to Lahore, while its English Department remained affiliated to Calcutta. The Medical College in Lahore was established in 1860. The Panjab University was the first that took up the cultivation of the vernaculars. Non-Government Colleges began to increase more and more, and the Education Commission of 1882-3 was inclined to favour aided rather than State institutions. It also recommended the preparation of a Moral Text-book, based on "the fundamental principles of natural religion," to be used in State and private colleges, and the delivery of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen. These recommendations about moral and civic education have never been carried out in State colleges, and the way in which they were carried out in religious and communal colleges tended to divide rather than unite the people of India in their cultural education.

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* *My Reminiscences*, pp. 185-6.

MUSLIM EDUCATION: SIR SAIYID'S WORK IN ALIGARH

With regard to Muslim education, the early efforts of the State has been a failure. The attempt to open the door of knowledge to the Muslims in English had failed to take account of their mentality. In a Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal, edited by the Rev. J. Long (W. Adam's Reports, Culcutta 1863, p. 33), it is noted that where the schools were carried on in the vernacular, the Muslims took advantage of them freely, as in Bhagalpur, where their proportion was 60 per cent. But they would not go to English schools. The prejudice against English schools was due to the attachment of Muslims to religious education, which was not given in English schools. Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan, who was not himself educated in English, saw the disastrous results to his community, flowing from the neglect of English education, and devoted his later life to the provision of facilities for such education. He appealed to a *Fatwa* of Shāh Abdul Azīz Muhaddis in favour of English education, and he proceeded to draw up a scheme of education at Aligarh in which English education should be combined with Muslim religious education, and with British sports, then not yet popular in Indian schools and colleges. The latter feature enlisted the support of the Hindu landed gentry and attracted the active assistance of the British Government. His Committee, originally formed in Benares, where the Saiyid had been stationed as Sadr Amīn (Subordinate Judge), opened a school in Aligarh in 1875. The Saiyid retired from the Bench soon afterwards, and had the satisfaction, in 1877, of seeing the foundation-stone laid of the Aligarh College by the Viceroy Lord Lytton. The idea from the beginning was to found a centre of Muslim culture and religious research, grouped round an independent Muslim University. The University idea itself was realised after many delays in 1920, but the ideal of a centre of cultural and religious research still remains for the future. Meanwhile English education has taken firm root in the Muslim community, and scientific and modern knowledge can no longer be said to be unacceptable to the Muslims of India.

GENERAL EDUCATIONAL FEATURES

Summing up the general features of the period, we can perhaps say that ever since the Home Government's Despatches of 1863 and 1864 the Government in India has sought to induce the richer classes to provide their own education. In Primary Education a great deal of progress was made, and the Education Commission in 1883 declared "the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement," to be that part of the educational system to receive the State's special attention. In Secondary Education the principle was laid down that there should be two divisions, one leading up to the Universities, while the other was (as in most countries) to be of a practical character, as a preparation for commercial and non-literary pursuits. The latter object is still far from being attained, partly owing to the neglect of the vernaculars for purposes of the practical arts and sciences. While Primary Education was to be provided without reference to local co-operation, Secondary Schools, especially for English teaching, were to be on the system of grants-in-aid wherever possible. In all branches of education, primary, secondary, and collegiate, the aided system was to be developed. The response of the people, both in finance and in educational effort, was remarkable. But unfortunately the want of a sympathetic central direction retarded, if it did not make impossible, the growth of a national system. The education of special classes—Muslims, Ruling Chiefs and Noblemen, and lower castes—received some attention, but the separatist tendencies in them were not checked. Facilities for female education outside the Presidency Towns, were almost negligible. Even in the Presidency Towns their disproportion to the facilities for boys' education was so great that the Education Commission devoted special attention to it and made special recommendations. It is remarkable that artistic education did not enter into the horizon of the Commission, although several art schools had been established, as we have already noticed in an earlier chapter. Nor did music, nor technical education, nor higher education in pure or applied sciences, nor original research, which must be the crown of any adequate educational system. The Universities from the beginning had included science in their curricula, but it was a subject very little in the public eye, and the wide survey of 1883 only took incidental notice of science subjects.

LITERATURE, CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE PERIOD

We pass now to literature. Here we may note the following facts of all-India importance. The Bengali Theatre was developed and became a definite instrument of national life. The Bengali novel established its position and began its mission of painting, analysing, criticising, and reconstructing contemporary social life. In these respects Hindustani fell behind in the race of the vernaculars. But it had other developments. Its sharper bifurcation into Urdu and Hindi reacted on education, literature, and politics in the United Provinces, and the effects of this reaction began to reach Bengal and other Provinces. The Urdu language became more flexible and modern. The Urdu novel found a brilliant exponent, though the influence of the Urdu novel on contemporary manners and morals was not as profound as the influence of the novel in the Bengali world. Urdu poetry found a new orientation and Urdu prose a fuller and richer content.

THE NEW BENGALI DRAMA: MICHAEL MADHU SUDAN DUTT

The Yatras, or folk plays of Bengal, were of a type that was found among all Hindu societies in India, irrespective of the vernacular used. But the early establishment of English education in Bengal produced a taste for plays acted in theatres and for drama of the modern European form. Before the Mutiny a number of English plays were performed by Bengalis in the English language. In 1858 was opened the Belgachhia Theatre, with a stage, scenery, music and acting, according to modern or western standards. The Play was in Bengali. It was an adaptation, but not a translation, of the old Sanskrit Play of *Ratnavali*, of the seventh century, attributed to Bana. The Bengali Play, in spite of its archaic plot, was, in tone and spirit, modern. There was an orchestra on western lines, but with Indian instruments and Indian music, under the advice and patronage of that great lover of Indian music, Maharaja Sir Jotindro Mohan Tagore. The success of the experiment stimulated Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt (1824-73) to follow out his own ideas and create a national drama, of which Bengal is deservedly proud. It was a poetic drama. The writer was deeply read in European plays, including those of the Greek dramatists. Though himself a Christian, he had a deep feeling of Indian nationalism, and used Hindu mythology freely for stage purposes. In his Comedies he goes down to the basic facts of Hindu society, and uses the lash freely.

GIRISH CHANDRA GHOSH AND DIN BANDHU MITRA

Within a few years numerous companies began to act in Calcutta. Under the management of Girish Chandra Ghosh (1843-1911), the actor-manager-playwright, the "National Theatre," called afterwards the "Great National Theatre," (and other theatres in Calcutta that Ghosh took up,) became a great force from 1871 onwards for over forty years. After Ghosh, his mantle has passed to other shoulders, and the Bengali Drama shows both vitality and constructive power. The sensational play, *Nīl Dargan*, by Dīn Bandhū Mitra (1829-73) was written in 1860, attacking the English indigo-planters in their dealings with the Bengal peasantry. Before it was acted, it was circulated in English. The missionaries and Dr. Cotton (the Bishop of Calcutta) sympathised with the ryots. The Planters' Association prosecuted the translator the Rev. James Long for libel in 1861, and a bitter controversy ensued. Though Mr. Long was convicted and fined, it was a moral victory for the ryots. Public opinion asserted itself, and the exposure of indigo abuses and the settlement of a vexed agrarian question gave Dīn Bandhū and his play an advertisement which raised the Bengali stage to an honoured position in public life. The play was staged with great success in 1878. Thenceforward the Bengali drama ceased to be an amateur enterprise and became a growing and powerful public institution. It has since attempted serious tasks proper to the Drama, including the Comedy of Manners. A long line of actors and actresses have contributed their talents to its development. Among the pioneer actresses whose elocution and careful study of their parts have lent a distinction to their long stage career is Tara Sundari, whose *dèbut* occurred at the age of seven at the "Star Theatre" as early as 1884*

KAVYA IN BLANK VERSE

A literature that can create a drama in close relation to facts and ideas of contemporary life can also tell its stories in the same strain, whether they are founded on old legends of long ago, or recent history, or contemporary life. This new spirit of story-telling, with its character-drawing, was directly derived from a study of English and western literatures. Madhu Sudan Dutt (1824-73), whose plays we have already referred to, gave Bengal the gift of blank verse, and retold the Ramayan story of the

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*Mr. P. Guha-Thakurta has recently published a fine monograph on *The Bengali Drama, its origin and development* (London, 1930), to which I am mainly indebted for this paragraph.

fight in Lanka in his *Meghanad Badh* published in 1861. Meghanad was the most powerful of the sons of Ravana. He killed Lakshmana the brother of Rama in a fight in which the odds were weighted against Meghanad. This called forth the full prowess of Rama, as Hector's triumph in the Greek epic called forth the full fury of Achilles, and with a similar result. Dutt had studied Homer, but his Kavya was a most original and meritorious piece of work.

THE NOVEL: BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

A similar new spirit in story-telling was manifested by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-94) in his prose novels. Chatterjee was the first Indian to graduate in the Calcutta University (1858). He served the Government as Deputy Magistrate, but his fame rests on his Bengali novels. *Durgesh Nandini** appeared in 1864. It was a historical novel and took the Bengali-reading public fairly by storm. His most celebrated novel was *Ananda Math* (the Abbey of Bliss), published about a decade later. This refers to the Sanyasi rebellion of 1771-4, and contains a great deal of adventure, romanticism, and patriotism, but is hostile to the Muslims and acridly critical of the British. Among his epigrams are such as these: "Mir Jafar smoked opium and slept; the English collected revenue and wrote despatches; the Bengali wept and walked to ruin." This novel contains the famous hymn *Bande Mātaram* (Hail Mother), which was used by the rebellious Sanyasis in the Novel, and afterwards became the battle-cry of revolutionary movements in the 20th century. The passion of young Bengal to read history anew and give it a twist against the Muslims tended to create a new gulf between the communities. From this point of view Mr. Naresh Chandra Sen-Gupta is right when he criticises Chatterjee's provincialism and his "morbid dislike of Muslims".† The most perfect novel of Chatterjee is *Krishna Kanta's Will*. It deals with social life in the family of a Bengal Zamindar. The action is swift; the character-portraiture true to life; and the hardships of a woman's position and her heroism are drawn with artistic pathos.

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* This was translated through English into Urdu by 'Abdul Ḥalīm Sharar, who himself wrote historical novels in Urdu.

† In his English Translation of Bamkim Chandra Chatterjee's *Abbey of Bliss*, p. vii.

URDU LITERATURE: ITS NEW MOVEMENTS

When we turn to Urdu literature, we find there also remarkable original movements in operation, and under English cultural influences. But these influences were not so direct, as in Bengali literature, nor was the modernisation so complete. Our Urdu writers were less steeped in English literature, and some of them were barely acquainted with that literature, though they were influenced by new styles and new ideas, which they turned to account in their own way in their writings. Their mental and literary stature was not less—some people may with good reasons claim it to have been greater—than that of their Bengali contemporaries. But as their relations with the English language were less intimate, and their works were not translated into English—perhaps they were less translatable—they obtained less vogue in India as a whole or in the world at large. This is not to say that the foundations which they laid were not deep. Some generations must elapse before we can estimate their true worth in the movement for an all-India cultural development.

GHĀLIB: LETTER-WRITING AS A LITERARY ART

The deep scars left by the Mutiny profoundly affected the lives of some of our foremost writers. Ghālib (1797-1869), whom we have already mentioned, practically lost his all, and was broken in spirit after the destruction of the House of Timur. His verse was crammed full of thought, but neither its philosophy nor its style suited the post-Mutiny temper. It was the loving hand of his pupil Hāli* that wove a halo of glory round his memory, and the recent revival† of Ghālib after a generation of

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*See his *Yādgār i Ghālib*, published in 1896.

†Among the evidences of this revival may be mentioned the numerous annotated editions of Ghālib and the recent sumptuously illuminated edition of Ghālib, by the Lahore artist Chaghtai. The Budaun edition of Ghālib's Dīwān, with commentary, has been printed over and over again, as also the Aligarh edition, with a Foreword by Maulāna Hasrat Mohāni. Other commentators have been Saiyid Alī Haidar Tabātabai, of Hyderabad, and 'Abdul Rahmān Bijnauri, but the latter puts the claims of Ghālib much too high.

neglect is a reaction against some of the shallow inanities perpetrated by the lower fringe of the modern schools of poetry. But G͟hālib was a great literary craftsman, and if his G͟hazls are difficult for the ordinary Urdu reader, his letters, which have been published in a collection called *Urdu-i-Mu'alla*, are a source of unfailing delight. They started a new fashion in Urdu prose. To say that the style is simple and uses everyday words and expressions is to do them less than justice. They are full of that meaning, aptly and concisely expressed, which is the very essence of literary writing. They are full of wit, pathos and directness, and really lead up to the natural style in prose and poetry, which became all the rage after his death in 1869. If only his letters had been critically edited and selected, with some particulars of the dates and occasions on which they were written and the persons to whom they were addressed, they would have had not only a literary but a historical value. Their unconsciousness of a Hindu-Muslim problem is refreshing in an age which thinks of public life in no other terms.

ĀZĀD AND HALI: NEW SCHOOLS OF POETRY, HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND LITERARY CRITICISM

The life of Muhammad Husain Āzād illustrates in a forcible way how the great minds of Upper India battled against tremendous difficulties, and without more than a superficial knowledge of English prepared the way for the transition from the old to the new in Urdu literature. Āzād was born in Delhi about the year 1832-3. His father Bāqir Ali was one of the earliest lights of Urdu journalism in Delhi. Like other Muslim families of note in Delhi, Āzād's family was ruined in the Mutiny. He wandered about and at last found a footing in Lahore in 1864 in the office of the Director of Public Instruction on a salary of Rs. 15 per month. But his talents were not to be hidden. He established a new centre of Urdu literature in Lahore, which has shown increasing vitality. Free from the traditions of Lucknow or Delhi, it started on new and modern lines, and in historical research, literary critcism and the forms and subject-matter of poetry, has broken new ground. In all these three departments Āzād's busy and active life of 25 years in Lahore (1864-1889) bore wonderful fruit. He organised the Anjuman-i-Punjab in 1874 and through it arranged *Mushā'iras* (poetical assemblies), which ushered in the new school of Urdu poetry. Altaf Husain Hali (1837-1914), who had likewise suffered at Delhi in the Mutiny, and was now working in Lahore, was also in the new movement. His publication, in 1879, of the famous *Musaddas*, set the seal to the movement. The *Musaddas* was inspired by the founder of Aligarh College, and in its enormous success, it linked itself with the Aligarh movement. Āzād's *Darbār-i-Akbari*, though it was left incomplete by him, and was completed by his disciples, showed great powers of historical research. Perhaps the book by which Āzād will always be best known was his *Āb-i-Hayāt*. It is now a classic. It was the first modern literary history in Urdu. Though many of his personal judgments may be disputed, it still stands unrivalled as a fine work of research and historical criticism in Urdu, to the date at which it was written. His *Nairang-i-Khiyāl* consists of essays in smooth and dignified prose, which few writers have been able to equal. Poor Āzād became insane in 1889. Though he did not cease to write after that date, his strenuous literary life ended then, though he lived on till 1910. Urdu and the Punjab owe to him a debt of gratitude which is best expressed in the modern literary renaissance of Urdu in the Punjab.

SARSHĀR, NAWAL KISHOR PRESS, AND *OUDH PUNCH*

In story-telling Pandit Ratan Nāth Sarshār, of Lucknow, (1846-1902) opened the gates of a new method and a new appeal to a wide middle-class reading public. He had a little knowledge of English, but a marvellous knowledge of the picaresque Urdu idioms and slang of Lucknow. The inner life of Begams and Nawabs, broken-down families, and the hangers-on who preyed on them, was familiar to him. With his genius for painting word-pictures, dramatic situations, and character-drawing through dialogue, he opened a new world of imagination to Urdu readers. His triumphs were made possible by the enterprise of the Nawal Kishor Press, which was established in Lucknow in 1858. No cultural history of Upper India would be complete without a notice of Munshi Nawal Kishor (1835-94). He also established the daily *Oudh Akhbār*. This, and the comic paper, the *Oudh Punch** of Munshi Sajjād Husain, filled a large place in the journalistic world of Upper India in the period about 1877-1882. Sarshār contributed to both. He became Editor of *Oudh Akhbār* in 1878. He at once raised it to heights of literary fame by his graphic sketches of Oudh life, which were published in book form as the *Fasāna i Āzād* in 1880. This created a new form of story-writing. Sarshār had in his mind Don Quixote, and his hero Āzād has something of the unpractical and the ridiculous. Round him are grouped other characters such as Humayun-Far, the lady Husn-Ara, the servant Khoji, and scores of others whose names have become househould words in the Urdu language. There are snatches of Urdu and Persian verse, and caricatures of Nawabs, police officers, a Bengali Babu, a theosophist, and a rich gallery of comic characters, men and women. The interest evoked among the Urdu public was like that of Dickens's *Pickwick Papers* in England. Sarshār had Dickens's humour and power of caricature, but he describes a corrupt society that is now almost dead. He discarded the introduction of supernatural characters, and relied upon actual living human characters for the interest of his story. But he failed to catch the note of progress as did the Bengal novelists we have mentioned. The novels of Sharar, who was a young and ardent admirer of Sarshār, fall under a later period, and will be noticed in a subsequent chapter.

ZAKĀULLAH

We ought not to leave this period without mentioning four other names, Maulvi Zakāullah (1832-1910) and Hāfiz Nazīr Ahmad (1836-1912) for Urdu; Toru Dutt (1856-1877) for her contributions to English and French literature; and Bharatendu Harish Chandra (1850-1885) for his work in Hindi literature. Maulvi Zakāullah was one of the early students of Delhi College, along with Dr. Nazir Ahmad, who was his life-long friend. Mr. C. F. Andrews, the friend of Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore, has recently paid a high tribute to him in an English memoir, in which he estimates his personality as one of the factors in the Delhi Renaissance, so sadly interrupted by the Mutiny. Mr. Andrews looks upon Zakāullah's work as the counterpart of Rabindranath Tagore's work at Santi-Niketan. Zakāullah was a prolific writer, and his Urdu History of India has some literary and educational value, though it is now out of date. But the charm of his personality, and his outlook on Indian culture, wider than the bounds of a communal culture, constitute his chief claims to consideration in a cultural history. That width is somewhat less evident in these later days, both on the Hindu and the Muslim sides, but must reassert itself if the future of our common motherland is to be assured.

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* It was an illustrated comic paper, with cartoons by Indian artists, Wazīr 'Ali, Shauq, and Gangā Sahāi. Its success led to the publication of the short-lived *Punjab Punch*, Lahore, and the more permanent *Hindi Punch*, which has survived the Lucknow paper.

NAZĪR AHMAD

Nazīr Ahmad's lot fell in pleasant places. He occupied high positions both in British India and in the Hyderabad State, and rendered yeoman's service to the Aligarh movement. He was the official Urdu translator of the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure (1861-2), and later in life, he translated the sacred Qur-ān (which he knew by heart) into modern Urdu. He also wrote social novels, but his style was heavy and didactic. It had not the power of awakening popular interest, which writers more in the swim and struggle of life, like Sarshār or Sharar, were able to do.

TORU DUTT

Toru Dutt was the Keats of India. A Bengali by birth, she wrote both English and French sketches with remarkable power. Considering that she died at the age of 21, her "*Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan*" in English, and her "*Journal de Mademoiselle d'Anvers*" in French, dedicated to Lord Lytton, are marvellous productions. In the one she gives new and sympathetic interpretations of tales from old Hindu mythology, and in the other she gives a psychological interpretation of her own life as a girl in France. Her brilliant literary gifts are a proud possession for all India.

HARISH CHANDRA

Bharatendu Harish Chandra also died young, at the age of 35, in 1885, but he left an indelible mark on Hindi literature. Indeed he may be considered the founder of the modern Hindi movement. Educated at Queen's College, Benares, he devoted his energies to the popularisation of vernacular literature. His *Sundari Tilak* gave selections from Hindi poets, and his *Prasiddh Mahatmāon ka jīban Charitra,* popularised the lives of great men through Hindi. His Magazine, the *Harish Chandrika,* started the vogue of Hindi literary magazines in upper India. He wrote Urdu poetry himself under the pen-name of Rasā, and held a notable Mushā'ira in Benares in 1866. His short account in Hindi of the Qurān Sharīf is reverent in tone, and shows that he was interested in comparative religion. He was a lineal descendant of Seth Amīn Charan (or Umā Charan or Omichand) of Calcutta, whose history is interwoven with that of Clive and the English revolution in Bengal.

CHAPTER X

JOURNALISM, PUBLIC LIFE, FINANÇE AND ECONOMICS

RISE OF THE INDIAN-OWNED AND INDIAN-EDITED ENGLISH PRESS

At an earlier stage we have referred to the foundations of vernacular journalism in India. After the Mutiny, began a series of journals in the English language, owned and conducted by Indians, some of which attained great circulation and influence, and survive to the present day. The growth of English education provided them with readers; the establishment of the enlarged Legislative Councils in 1861 and the quickening of public life enlarged their field of vision; the sensitiveness of Government to public expressions of opinion in English gave them their influence and their opportunity. It was not only that the Government in India listened to them. Papers in the English language could be sent to members of Parliament in England and publicists and journalists all over the world. The Indian-owned English Press commanded a far wider influence than vernacular papers, and has indeed progressively become essential to every public cause in India.

GIRISH CHANDRA GHOSE AND KRISTO DAS PAL: *THE HINDU PATRIOT, THE BENGALEE*, AND *THE INDIAN MIRROR*

In Indo-English journalism the first triumphs were achieved, as might have been expected, in Bengal. The name of Girish Chandra Ghose* (1829-1869) stands out prominently, as that of one who showed dash and enterprise in journalism, and who was very modern in many ways. In his short life of 40 years he controlled and made the history of more than one paper. He was the first editor of the *Hindu Patriot*, started in 1853, as a definite organ of Indian views at the renewal of the Company's Charter. In 1855 he was ousted from it by Hurrish Chandra Mukerji (1824-61), who upheld Lord Canning's policy in 1857, and subsequently (1860) took up the indigo ryots' agitation and suffered for it. On Mukerji's death in 1861, the *Hindu Patriot* came under the control of Kristo Das Pal (1838-84), a forceful personality, who "bestrode Bengal like a Colossus" for the last twenty years of his life. Pal was, however, more moderate and more aristocratic in his views, and in his time the paper became definitely the organ of the Zamindars. Girish Chunder Ghose started *The Bengalee* newspaper in 1862, and ran it as a mouth-piece of the ryots and the masses, in opposition to Pal's paper. Its literary reviews also did much for the education of Bengali taste and the popularisation of Bengali literature. *The Bengalee* acquired a character for successful sensationalism, but after Ghose's death in 1869, it went into low water until it was bought by Surendranath Banerjea, (1848-1925) in 1878. At that time its circulation was only 200. Banerjea made it almost the leading Indian paper of his day in India, and it became a Daily from February 1900. Nor must we omit to mention the *Indian Mirror*, which claims a connection with the honoured names of Mararshi Devendranath Tagore, Keshub Chunder Sen, and Mano Mohan Ghose, and still continues on its placid course as a Calcutta Daily.

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*The Girish Chandra Ghosh, mentioned in the last chapter as the father of theatrical enterprise in Calcutta, was quite a different person, and belongs to a later generation.

REIS AND RAYYET AND *AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA*

Among the journalistic associates of Hurrish Chunder Mukerji and Kristo Das Pal may be mentioned Dr. Shambhu Chandra Mukerji (1839-94), who pursued a middle course between Pal and Ghose, and later founded the influential paper *Reis and Rayyet* in Calcutta in 1882. On the whole he inclined towards Conservatism. Meanwhile, in 1882, he had been appointed Assistant Secretary to the Taluqdars' Association in Lucknow, and edited the Lucknow paper the *Samachar Hindustani*. In 1864, he was Diwan to the Nawab of Murshidabad. His association with Muslims in these ways gave him a wider Hindu-Muslim outlook than that of the more popular Bengali journalists, as was evidenced by his attitude to the Congress and the Cow Protection movements and to the Russo-Turkish war in 1877-8. The most democratic as well as exclusively Hindu paper was the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, started as a vernacular paper in the Mufassal in 1868 by Shishir Kumar Ghosh (1842-1911) and his better-known brother Motilal Ghose (1845-1922), but moved to Calcutta in 1872. When the vernacular Press was gagged by the Act passed by Lord Lytton in 1878, the enterprising *Patrika* became an English paper, and it became a Daily from 1890. Under many handicaps Motilal Ghose carried it on on his sole responsibility from 1888 and made it the most vigorously written paper in India.

THE *HINDU* OF MADRAS

In Madras the *Hindu* also owed its impetus to Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act. It came into being in 1878 under the enthusiastic guidance of two young Madrasis, Mr. Subramania Aiyar and Mr. M. Viraraghavachariar as a weekly; in 1883 it began to be published thrice a week; and in 1889 it became a Daily. When it celebrated its Jubilee in 1928 it took pride in the fact that its views and outlook were wider than its title, and that it aimed at fostering an all-India feeling.

BOMBAY AND UPPER INDIA JOURNALISM: THE *INDIAN SPECTATOR*

In Bombay, though it had taken the lead in journalism from the earliest days, influential Indo-English papers only arose within this century. The Bombay community contains, besides the English commercial sections, the Parsis, the Marathas, the Gujarati-speaking Hindus, and the Muslims, who again are divided into sections with traditions different from those of the Muslims of Upper India. The Parsis were among the foremost in the field of vernacular journalism: their paper the *Bombay Samachar* was one of the earliest vernacular papers in India, and it still flourishes. The Gujarati *Rast Goftar* mainly owed its position to the talents of Kaikhusru Kabraji, who was connected with it from 1863 to 1902. It is now defunct. The Marathi *Kesari* of Poona was founded by Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak in 1880, about the time that the great Indian papers arose in Bengal and Madras. The weekly *Indian Spectator*, conducted in English, chiefly owed its fame and influence to Mr. Behramji Malabari, who took it up in 1880, about the time when Lord Ripon's Liberal policy gave a great fillip to newspapers and public life in India. It did not survive Malabari. The *Times of India* which was started as the *Bombay Times* in 1838 and took its present name in 1861, has always been an Anglo-Indian paper, but its relations with Indian opinion have been more intimate than those of other Anglo-Indian papers, for example the *Pioneer* (before it became an Indian-owned paper). The modern Indo-English papers of Bombay, the *Bombay Chronicle* and the *Indian Daily Mail*,* are products of the 20th Century. The two Indo-English papers of Northern India, the *Leader* of Allahabad and the *Tribune* of Lahore, though they go back to the last century (the *Tribune* was founded by Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia in 1877) have really become prominent only in the 20th century. The Muslims have never had an influential English Daily in India, at all comparable to the papers of the other communities. The *Muslim Outlook* of Lahore was comparatively recent. It is now defunct. Its place has been taken by the *Eastern Times* of Lahore, which began as a Daily, but is now published as a weekly. Some of the Muslim Urdu journals, however, of Lucknow and Lahore, as well as of Hyderabad, Deccan, have recently established wide circulations.

HOW PUBLIC LIFE WAS QUICKENED AT THREE STAGES

The growth of the newspaper press is a good indication of the diffusion of education and the advance of public life in the country. For the purposes of the present period we may take three definite movements round which to group the facts of public life. The first was the post-Mutiny Reconstruction Period; the second the Reactionary Period under Lord Lytton; and the third the Liberal period under Lord Ripon, which saw a complete remoulding of the machinery of local self-government.

JUDICIAL DEVELOPMENTS

The reconstruction period (1861-1874) was a period of great administrative activity, and laid the foundations of public life on a firm basis. To education and the universities we have already referred. The Chartered High Courts were established in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay in 1861, to be followed in 1866 by one at Allahabad and a Chief Court at Lahore raised to the status of a High Court in 1919. This meant the raising of the status of the Indian legal profession and the opening to them of high judicial offices. The first Indian Barrister—qualified at the London Inns of Court, and equal in status to any English barrister—was Mano Mohan Ghose (1844-96), who, having been called to the Bar in London in 1866, joined the Bar of the Calcutta High Court in the following year, and won great distinction in his professional as well as in his public career. He was an eloquent public speaker, and served the Indian National Congress cause with great ability. Mr. Badruddin Tyabji, of Bombay, was the first Muslim Barrister from India. He was called to the Bar in 1867. The first Indian Judge of a High Court was not a Barrister but a Vakil, a Kashmiri Brahman, Sambhu Nath Pandit, who had risen from a humble post on Rs. 20 per month as assistant to a Sadr Court Record-keeper, and acquired a profound knowledge of land tenures and Hindu Law. He was on the Calcutta High Court Bench from 1863 to 1867. The next Indian High Court Judge was Dwarkanath Mitra (1833-74), who was raised to the Calcutta Bench at the age of 34 in 1867, and filled the office for seven years. Besides being an eminent lawyer and a sound English and French scholar, he was a learned philosopher. His attainments and character influenced English opinion favourably as regards the Indians, and the High Courts have never lacked an Indian judge since. The first Muslim to be raised to a High Court Judgeship was Mr. Justice Mahmud (1850-1901), son of Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan of Aligarh. He sat on the Allahabad Bench from 1886 to 1893, and has left judgments on Muslim Law, of remarkable grasp and justice comprehensiveness.

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* Now defunct.

LAW CODIFICATION AND ITS CULTURAL EFFECTS

The codification movements which had begun in the time of Lord Macaulay, began to bear fruit now. The Civil Procedure Code was promulgated in 1859, the Indian Penal Code in 1860, and the Code of Criminal Procedure in 1861. The Law of Contracts was codified in 1872. These Codes were also translated into Urdu and other vernaculars. Their effect on the cultural development of India was twofold. They were based on the principles of modern English law, but they were freed from the technicalities of English law, and adapted to Indian conditions. This gave an impetus to the filtration of modern legal ideas into the Indian mind. We see this in some of the vernacular novels, and especially in the Urdu novels of Maulvi Nazīr Ahmad. Secondly, it raised the tone of the lower grades of pleaders and agents in Indian Courts, thus gradually extending the field of the rule of law through many bye-ways of Indian professional life. It has been made a reproach to the next generation of Indians that they were dominated by lawyers. The position had its drawbacks, but it cannot be denied that its counter-balancing merits brought with it the desire for an ordered and democratic form of public and even private life.

INDIAN PARTICIPATION IN LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

The enlargement of the Legislative Councils under the Act of 1861 enabled non-official members to be appointed as "Additional Members" of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. This non-official element, though small in the beginning, was enough to breed a race of public men in India who could speak authoritatively from a point of view entirely different from, and in some cases opposed to, the official point of view. The Legislative Councils of Bombay and Madras were also restored, and power was taken and subsequently used, to create such Councils in the Lieutenant-Governors' Provinces: Bengal, the North-West Provinces (now the United Provinces), and the Punjab. These subordinate Councils also had additional members. This secured the diffusion of the Indian share in legislation all over the Provinces. On the other hand, the Government of India became more centralised and unified, and the Indians who went to the Viceroy's Legislative Council breathed an all-India atmosphere which was good for the political progress of the country. They could think in terms of the whole country and rub off corners in meeting non-official Indians from other Provinces. In the Provincial Councils the non-official members could voice new needs and make the

Government more responsive to the people's voice. When social reformers like Piari Chand Mitra (1814-83) could enter Councils, they helped to pass legislation which an alien Government, pledged to religious and social neutrality, might hesitate to tackle. He entered the Bengal Legislative Council in 1868, and helped in passing the Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Similarly Nawab Abdul Latif of Calcutta (1828-93) served on the Bengal Legislative Council for several years and voiced Muslim views.

EXECUTIVE SERVICES

Nor were the doors of the Indian Civil Service, the premier executive service in India, closed to Indians. The entry by open competition in London brought it within the reach of Indians, although both the place for examination and the scheme of subjects placed the Indians at a great disadvantage. The first Indian to enter the Indian Civil Service by competition was Babu Satyendra Nath Tagore. Though he himself did not reach any high distinction in the Service, there were many who followed him and attained high positions. The highest executive position so far attained by an Indian member of the Service has been that of the High Commissioner for India in London, from which Sir Atul Chatterji retired in 1931. The handicap against Indian candidates for the Service led to a demand for simultaneous examinations in India and England, which was ultimately met under the post-War Reforms.

ADVANCE IN OTHER DIRECTIONS

Simultaneously with the advance of India on the administrative front went on the education of public opinion in the press and on the platform. We have already referred to the agitation connected with the indigo planting industry, which ended in the liberation of the peasants from an unfair form of exploitation. The Zamindars also organised themselves both in Bengal and in Oudh, the two Provinces with large landed estates. As a parallel movement came the Indian Association established by Surendranath Banerjea for the middle classes in Calcutta in 1876. At the same time questions of tenant-right became ripe for discussion, and the resulting Tenancy Act was prepared under Lord Ripon and passed under Lord Dufferin. The loss of over a million lives in the Orissa famine and floods (1865-6) caused a thorough examination of famine relief policy. The demand of fifty Parsis in Bombay (1861) for enrolment in the local volunteer corps raised the general question of the eligibility of Indians for enrolment in such corps. The practical obstacles placed by the military department prevented any general participation by Indians in the volunteer defence of their country. The election in 1885 of Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra (1824-91) to be the President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was a recognition of the high standard reached by Indian scholarship. He was the most learned Hindu of his day, and brought a new spirit into the study of Indian archæology by Indians.

BHAU DAJI OF BOMBAY

On the Bombay side the work of Dr. Bhau Daji (1821-74) is worthy of commemoration. He was a self-made man who came from the Mufassal, got his training as a doctor, and established himself in a large and lucrative medical practice in Bombay. But his interests were wide, and he threw himself into all kinds of social, humanitarian, and educational activities, at the same time that he carried on researches in archæology and the use of Indian drugs. He was particularly interested in the cure of leprosy. For the search of coins, inscriptions, and Sanskrit manuscripts, he sent his collaborators to travel far and wide in the country, as far as Nepal. He was the first Indian to hold the office of Sheriff of Bombay, and he held it twice, in 1869 and 1871. He was a warm advocate of female education. One of the original Fellows of the Bombay University, he was an indefatigable worker in its cause, and his name is associated with its endowments. His large-hearted charities to the poor keep his memory green in the city which he served so worthily and in so many different capacities.

MUSLIM MOVEMENTS BESIDES THAT OF ALIGARH

Apart from the Aligarh movement which has already been referred to more than once, the Muslims in other parts of India were also active in forming societies and associations. Nawab Abdul Latif (1828-93) of Calcutta in 1863 founded the Muhammadan Literary and Scientific Society, which he served for many years. It looked after other cultural interests besides those strictly literary and scientific. Among the services to the Muslim public life of India, it stemmed the tide of Wahabi agitation and excitement, which culminated in the assassination of Chief Justice Normon in Calcutta in 1871. Saiyid Ameer Ali (1849-1928), afterwards Judge of the Calcutta High Court (1890-1904), and after his retirement, the first Indian Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, did much public work in his younger days for the Muslims of Bengal through the Central National Muhammadan Association (1876-90) and through the Committee of the Hugli Imambara, just as he continued to work in London to the end of his life. In Bombay Mr. Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1906) worked for the social and educational progress of his community through the Anjuman-i-Islam.

PERIOD OF REACTION AND BITTERNESS

Disraeli's rule in England during the period 1874-80 had notable reactions in India. It was a period of a "strong" foreign policy and Imperialist ambitions. Lord Lytton in India (Governor-General, 1876-1880) faithfully reflected the views of his chief in England. To Lord Lytton the newly risen intellectual class in India was "a deadly legacy from Metcalfe and Mecaulay." The Intellectuals of India responded with as cordial a repugnance to the policy and personality of Lord Lytton. The political cleavage between the Hindus and the Muslims began to take definite shape from this time, as also the Hindi-Urdu controversy in the United Provinces. The burden of a great part of England's Imperial ambitions in the East was thrown on India. In 1877-78 the Indian Public Debt (exclusive of capital invested on railways and Public Works) was 135 crores. Within the next twelve years it mounted up to over 207 crores, and most of the debt was held in England, where the interest charged were payable. The taxation of India, which in 1877-78 amounted to 35 crores mounted up in subsequent years to 41 crores, and almost half of this was absorbed in military charges. The terrible famine of 1876-8, in which the mortality was estimated at over six millions, was still in the land when the magnificent Imperial Assemblage was held in Delhi in January 1877. No wonder the vernacular press got restive, even rabid, and had to be curbed by means of the Vernacular Press Act, 1878. This Act for the first time made the invidious distinction between newspapers according to whether they were published in English or in the Indian languages, which masked a distinction between newspapers run in English or Indian interests. It was responsible for a tremendous impetus given to the Indo-English Press. The Act was repealed by Lord Ripon in 1882.

LORD RIPON'S SYMPATHETIC RULE

The reactionary period did much to strengthen India's public life. When it was followed by the sympathetic and pro-Indian rule of Lord Ripon (1880-1884), the seed sown began to germinate and to show a quickly growing crop. Indian associations and public bodies like the Mahajana Sabha in Madras began to grow up and flourish all over the land. At the same time the relations between the British and Indian communities on the one hand, and the Hindu and Muslim communities on the other, began to be less and less cordial. The European Defence Association was formed in 1883, in protest against the Ilbert Bill, which proposed to remove the anomaly of exempting European offenders from the jurisdiction of Indian Magistrates in criminal trials. The Aligarh movement under Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan definitely dissociated itself in politics from the general Hindu movement which resulted in the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The Hindu-Muslim riots in Southern India (July-August, 1882) showed a spirit of uncompromising lawlessness.

ITS CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Lord Ripon's policy is a land-mark in the history of British India, because it attempted to introduce an entirely new atmosphere in Indian administration. It has more cultural significance than the rule of any other British administrator. The rendition of Mysore to the rule of the Wodeyar family in 1881 restored to Indian rule a large tract of country in Southern India. India was extricated from her foreign entanglements across the North-West frontier. The Education Commission of 1882-3, to which we have already referred, surveyed the whole field of education from a new angle of vision. By means of the Ilbert Bill an attempt was made to assert unequivocally the equality of British and Indian before the law. Violent controversies arose, led by the *Englishman* newspaper of Calcutta. The protest meeting by the non-official Europeans in Calcutta Town Hall (28th February 1883) indulged in unseemly and intemperate language. English barristers were sore about the appointment of an Indian Judge, Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, as Acting Chief Justice. Planters feared the further curtailment of their influence on their estates, where their friendship for the British Magistrates gave them an extraordinary amount of prestige. Indians were getting higher and more posts in the Civil Service, and rules were under consideration for opening wider avenues of employment for Indians in the Indian Civil Service and the Provincial Service. The local self-government scheme was throwing more local power into the hands of Indians. Bitter racial feeling was aroused, and the Bill had to be considerably modified before it was passed in January 1848.

FOUNDATIONS OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT: ELECTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITY

It was the question of local self-government which interested Lord Ripon most. He had it in his mind in 1880, and on the occasion of the revision of the Provincial Contracts (Finance) in 1881, it was suggested to the Provincial Governments that they should consider the devolution of functions as well as of finance in certain matters to local bodies in the same way that the Government of India had carried out a similar devolution in favour of Provincial Governments. The Resolution of the 18th May 1882 laid down certain principles for the guidance of Provincial Governments, leaving wide discretion to the Provincial Governments as to the manner of their application. The methods of election, the extent to which it was to be applied to different bodies, and the height or lowness of the franchise were all carefully considered. It was wisely decided to keep the franchise fairly high to start with. What was aimed at was, as Lord Ripon explained in a letter,* "not a representation of the people, of a European democratic type, but the gradual training of the best, most intelligent, and most influential men in the community to take an interest and an active part in the management of their local affairs." The local bodies were to be left gradually more and more to run alone, and only watched from without by the executive authorities and checked if they went wrong. His object was to revive such remnants of local self-government as remained in the rural life of India. Municipalities, District Boards, and Local Boards were thus given a new orientation. The results were not remarkable to start with. But the policy was undoubtedly the first link in the chain by which co-operation in government and administration has been invited from the Indian people, the elective principle has been introduced and developed, and the way has been prepared for the larger schemes which we shall have to refer to later.

GOVERNMENT FINANCE

The biggest economic factor in India is Government finance. Before India was taken over by the Crown, no public Budgets were prepared. The accounts were prepared as for a commercial company. The Mutiny added 40 millions of pounds sterling (over 40 crores of rupees) to the debt of India, and military changes made after the Mutiny permanently burdened India with a heavy addition to her annual military expenditure. This necessitated a reorganisation of Indian taxation. For this, as for the first Indian Budget, 1861, we are indebted to Mr. James Wilson, M. P., who came to India with special British Treasury experience. The customs duties were reorganised by him, and the income-tax was introduced, which, with varying changes, has now become a permanent feature of our national finance. He also created a paper currency.

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*Lucien *Life of Lord Ripon*, ii. 98.

From 1874 onwards the steady fall in the price of silver created a new problem. The fall in silver caused the fall of the rupee in international exchange. As India's debt was held mainly in sterling in England, the depreciation in silver meant a steady improvement in the creditor's position and a steady deteroriation in the debtor's position. This affected not only the Government of India but every ryot and citizen of India whose assets diminished as measured by international standards. The purchasing power of every Indian was diminished, and the savings of the people depreciated. At the International Conference in Brussels in 1878, England had the chance of rehabilitating silver by joining in international actions, but, she declined, and India's currency has been a live problem ever since. Side by side with pure depreciation were the losses of an extravagant railway policy, which we shall refer to presently. The great famines were tackled admirably as regards the technique of famine relief, but under the conditions then existing, it was impossible to attack the root problems of Indian poverty, which went on being aggravated and causing more and more dissatisfaction among Indian publicists. Their criticisms, however, were not effective, because they had no economic or financial experience on a large scale. Lord Mayo's financial reforms (1869-72) referred mainly to decentralisation as between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments.

WANT OF EFFECTIVE CHECK

There was no effective check on the financial policy of the country. The executive in India was entirely uncontrolled by the Legislature. It was nominally controlled by the British Parliament, to which the Secretary of State was responsible. But the British Parliament had not the time, and it certainly had not the knowledge or interest in Indian finance, which could have made its check effective. The Secretary of State for India, though paid then out of Indian revenues, along with his large establishment at the India Office in London, was a member of the British Cabinet, and naturally took a view of Indian questions from the stand-point of British public life and British trade and commerce. His membership of the

British Cabinet in a way worsened India's position. Any Imperial charges that could with any plausibility be thrown off on to India were naturally so thrown off, with the full concurrence of the supreme authority in Indian finance, vested in the Secretary of State. And there was no Sinking Fund for paying off any part of the Public Debt of India.

RAILWAY POLICY

The English bias of Indian financial policy was specially illustrated in the early railway policy in relation to British capital and British companies. We saw how spacious were Lord Dalhousie's ideas about Indian railways. They certainly aimed at development, but had no close reference to India's resources. His extravagant guarantee system threw money into the pockets of eight English companies, without commensurate results to India. It took the guaranteed companies twenty years to make 5,300 miles of railway at an average cost of £ 17,000 per mile although the land was given free by Government. The original estimate of Lord Dalhousie was exceeded by 200 per cent. The gauge selected, 5 feet 6 inches, was unsuitable for the traffic and unnecessarily expensive, and a narrow or metre gauge, of 3.281 feet (3 feet 3⅜ inches) was subsequently adopted for some railways. This made transfer traffic difficult. For some time the "battle of the gauges" raged furiously, and even now, the difference in gauges remains a serious handicap in many parts of the country. The conversion of the Sindh and Panjab lines from the metre gauge to the broad gauge, when it became necessary, caused much waste of money. The original guarantee system soon became discredited as quite unfair to the tax-payer. A five per cent interest was guaranteed to the Companies, though the Government could borrow at much lower rates. The companies shared in the profits, and when the rupee fell in value, the companies' profits were remitted to England at a preferential rate of exchange. A modified system of "assisted" railways was tried, in which a lower rate of interest was guaranteed to the companies and the period of guarantee was limited. A system of State railways was also constructed for British India, and Indian States were encouraged to invest money in railways. But even State railways were in most cases worked by Companies. When the Guaranteed and Assisted Railways were eventually purchased by the State, many of them continued to be worked by the Companies. The question of State *versus* Company management is one of the politico-economic questions widely controverted in our own day, and hardly yet settled. It is only within quite recent years that the railways have become a paying property to the State, but they are precarious as a source of revenue to the State, and the heavy losses incurred unnecessarily at the earlier stages will always remain on the other side of the account.

AGRICULTURE AND STATISTICS

Agriculture fills a large place in Indian economics, and sixty or seventy years ago its place was even larger than it is now. Under Lord Mayo (1869-72), a Government Department of Agriculture was formed for the first time, to which was also committed the charge of Commerce. It was in the fitness of things that the Secretary of the new Department, dealing as it were with the life-blood of the Indian masses, should be Mr. Allan O. Hume (1829-1912), the father of the Indian National Congress. It was under Lord Mayo, also, that a department of statistics was organised and the first regular decennial census of the population (1871) was taken in India. The State's concern in agriculture was, to start with, very modest. It was intended to collect facts so that the Government should have an accurate economic and statistical picture in dealing with famines, irrigation policy, and its very vital functions in connection with the periodical assessments of land revenues. It was not intended then to push steam ploughs and water pumps, or to improve or modernise Indian agriculture. Indeed the later attempts in that direction by the State have not been very successful, because the scientific experiments and demonstrations did not reach a very large class of village agriculturists. The progress of Indian agriculture, such as it has been, has been due to better education and the extent to which the ryot has been able to understand and apply new knowledge or use new or improved methods and machinery, to use better seeds, or to acquire or command the capital material and resources for modern methods. Besides, the really practical and hereditary knowledge of the agriculturist was, with the means which he could command, better adapted to the Indian conditions of soil, climate, and social organisation than the foreign methods of impatient reformers. Lord Mayo wisely avoided preaching to the Indian ryot either to do things which he could not and had not the means to do, or to give up methods which centuries of experience had sanctioned. "In either case," he wrote, "they will laugh at us, and they will learn to disregard really useful advice when it is given."

TEA, COFFEE, CINCHONA, AND INDIGO

At the same time great developments took place in the establishment of new and lucrative staples of agriculture, as well as in the parallel development of mineral resources, and in the growth of the manufacturing interest. Tea, coffee, and cinchona (whose bark produces quinine) had received the East India Company's attention from quite early times. Their successful establishment gave India, in tea and coffee, two big semi-argicultural industries and two new staples for the export trade, and in quinine an efficient drug to deal with the fevers prevailing all over the country. The phenomenal profits of the indigo industry were reduced after the labour troubles with indigo planters in the 1860's. A few years before, (in 1856), W. H. Perkin, an English chemist, in an experiment aiming at the preparation of quinine from aniline, an essence distilled from indigo, discovered a beautiful purple dye which rapidly came into use for the dyeing of silk. The German chemists in 1868 discovered that beautiful dye could be made from coal tar, and this chemical industry gradually brought about the decline of the indigo industry and the industries connected with madder (*majīth*) and other ancient Indian vegetable dyes. From 1880 onwards indigo itself was manufactured by synthetic means. This was cheaper and could be marketed in a more standardised form. It drove out natural indigo. The million and a half acres of land under indigo in 1880 dwindled down to 100,000 acres by 1926. Indigo cultivation hardly comes into the statistics now.

JUTE: HOW THE GROWTH IN INDUSTRY HAS AFFECTED INDIAN LABOUR AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

The most striking economic development on a large scale was in the fibres, Jute (*pat san*) and Cotton, and the manufactures connected with them. Both of them had been known in India from very early times, but as important articles of export they came into the front rank after the Mutiny. The power mills connected with various stages of their manufacture have for the first time produced the labour conditions of the factory system. Jute is mostly grown in Bengal, and its fibre supplies the raw material for the manufacture of the coarse gunny bags used in the international commerce of the world. India holds a monopoly in the production of the raw material. Fibres of the same quality cannot be produced outside the moist plains of Bengal. In 1850 the total value of jute exports (raw and manufactured) was little over 21 lakhs of rupees. In 1926 it amounted to 38 crores, and the area under jute was little short of 4 million acres. The early exports of jute were almost entirely to Great Britain. Dundee, in Scotland, soon established a flourshing jute-weaving industry. Calcutta started the first steam-power jute mill, with British capital, in 1854. Between 1870 and 1882 the number had increased to twenty. In 1926 there were as many as 90 jute mills, employing a labour force of over 300,000. The Indian jute mills are mostly financed and managed by the British. Dundee manufactures, besides coarse jute textiles, other fabrics such as jute rugs and carpets. In this industry, therefore, the growth in the British period has been entirely in favour of British capital and British enterprise. For Indians it has meant only the growth of a large industrial population and the displacement of the cottage industries of Bengal.

COTTON POSITION IN THE 18TH CENTURY

In the case of cotton the history has been different. The cotton plant was cultivated in India from the remotest antiquity. Cotton manufactures furnished the principal source of clothing in India, both artistic and common, and formed an important article of commerce in her foreign trade. But the indigenous cotton was of short staple, often less than half an inch, and rarely exceeding three-quarters of an inch, though the best qualities were distinguished by extraordinary fineness on the one hand and durability on the other. Hence the renown of the famous Dacca muslins, plain, striped, and figured. Their delicacy won them the title of *Āb-i-rawān* (running water). The earliest British settlements in India were made in cotton-weaving districts. The East India Company's imports of cotton fabrics into England affected the growth of Manchester cotton manufactures in the 18th Century. The import of printed calicoes from the East Indies was therefore entirely prohibited in England in 1700. In 1712 the prohibition was made stricter by being extended to the wearing or use of printed calicoes.

NOTABLE INVENTIONS

At the same time the inventive genius of Englishmen made improvements in machinery, which soon enabled England to out-distance her competitors in cotton manufactures. Four of her notable inventions may be mentioned. One related to weaving, Kay's Fly Shuttle, 1733, by which the weaver's shuttle, instead of being thrown by hand, was thrown mechanically between layers of warp alternately. But rapid weaving could not be carried on without rapid spinning, which was rendered possible by Hargreave's Spinning Jenny, about 1764. This contrivance was a great improvement on the old spinning wheel, which could only spin one thread at a time. The Spinning Jenny enabled eleven threads, and afterwards as many as a hundred, to be spun at a time. Arkwright's further invention of the water frame enabled him to set up his first water-power mill in 1771, and within fourteen years steam power was applied to cotton manufacture. These inventors were men of humble origin but practical inventive genius in mechanics, and they revolutionised the industrial life of the world. Arkwright began with the trade of a barber, and ended as a Knight. He never had much capital, and his associates in his career of invention were mechanics, carpenters, and watch-makers. But they raised the position of their country to one of industrial supremacy in the world. India's position began to sink as an exporter of cotton fabrics, and soon the cheapened production in Lancashire made it possible to invade the Indian market with cotton goods, both yarn and fabrics.

INDIA'S POSITION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the first half of the nineteenth century India's position as a supplier of raw cotton to Great Britain also began to sink relatively to other sources of supply. In 1806 she had supplied 40 per cent. In the quinquennium 1849-54 she supplied only 16 per cent. Her two chief competitors in this field were the United States of America and Egypt. The United States cotton had a longer staple, which was better suited to the Lancashire machinery. And the large-scale activity of the United States in manufacturing cotton goods only dates from 1870 onwards. Egyptian cotton, as cultivated on modern lines, began to be available from 1820, with her modern system of irrigation. Egypt therefore has also supplied the raw material to Lancashire, and she had not yet developed her power manufactures to any great extent. Her staple is longer than that of the United States, and therefore better suited for weaving finer counts, and it has further advantages in its strength, elasticity, and natural twist. The Civil War in America, 1861-5, and the British blockade of the United States coast, produced a world-wide crisis in the cotton trade. Lancashire suffered a famine in raw cotton, as the American supply was cut off, and prices rose over 40 per cent. This had a three-fold effect on India. The high prices benefitted the Indian cultivators of raw cotton, but they ruined the hand-loom weavers, who could not purchase their raw materials at prices so enormously and suddenly enhanced. A great fillip was thus given to the power-loom cotton industry in Bombay. On the other hand attempts were made by Government to improve and extend the cultivation of cotton in India with a view to supplying the demands of the Manchester industry. Cotton Commissioners were appointed in Bombay, Berar, and the Central Provinces, with cotton farms under them.

GROWTH OF THE MILL INDUSTRY

The application of steam power to the manufacture of cotton in India began in Calcutta as early as 1818, but it led to no great development. Bombay was a better home for the cotton industry because of its proximity to the best cotton-growing tracts. The first Bombay cotton mill was established by the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company which was incorporated in 1851, and the number of mills grew to a dozen by 1861. The boom in Bombay raw cotton, due to the American Civil War, poured an enormous amount of wealth into Bombay, estimated at about 81 millions of pounds sterling. This caused much speculation and a financial crisis in 1865, but its permanent effect was to establish the cotton mill industry firmly in the Bombay Presidency with Indian capital. The slump in Indian raw cotton, after Manchester resumed her supplies from America, reduced its prices, and was thus an advantage to the Indian mills. By 1879 India had 58 mills, and by 1886 the number had increased to 90. Early in the 20th century the number rose to over 200, with a capital of over 17 crores of rupees, and a labour force of over 200,000. They manufactured cotton yarn and the coarser counts of cotton fabrics, the finer counts being mainly made in Lancashire. The Indian yarn was used a great deal by the hand-loom weavers, who still held their own in the local trade in coarser cloth; and some of it found its way in China and the markets of the East. The same may be said of the coarser mill-made Indian cloth. But the finer hand-made fabrics could not compete in price with Manchester goods, which filled the Indian markets and created a problem, industrial, economic, financial and political, which has progressively grown in intensity since. The latest trend, promoted by India's fiscal policy of protection, is in favour of the Indian manufactures as against the Lancashire manufactures. But there is severe competition from Japan.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN INDIA

The Industrial Revolution which transformed the structure of European and American society at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century reached India in a mild form in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. We say "in a mild form," because it has yet affected a very small proportion of the population. But the evils connected with the system acted in an intensified form in India: because (1) public opinion was not strong; (2) the racial question was involved; (3) foreign rule and foreign capital made many of the questions political; (4) the workers themselves were without education or organisation; (5) the cheap rates of labour and its inefficiency prevented an efficient system of organisation and a carefully economic use of capital; (6) the idea of joint-stock enterprise was entirely new to India, and the proper safeguards against its abuses were not yet developed; (7) the old crafts decayed rapidly, but the new industries grew slowly and not in proportion to the void created and the expanding needs of a growing population; (8) such capital as existed in the country obtained high rates of remuneration in unproductive uses and could not be readily attracted at economic rates into industrial concerns; and (9) foreign capital meant an even greater want of contact and sympathy between capital and labour than was usual in large-scale industries elsewhere. There was a movement towards the towns from the country. But the new cities, such as Bombay and Calcutta, were industrial camps rather than permanent homes, and the labour force was unstable and fluctuating. A larger proportion of people began to subsist partly on agriculture and partly on industry, instead of developing highly specialised skill in either. The economic conditions thus produced, taken with western education and the discontent which it produced with the existing conditions, opened the door to political developments. The Indian National Congress was born in 1885, but it will be more convenient to discuss that movement in the next two periods, when politics occupied the front of the cultural stage.

SECTION VI

AWAKENING OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS: WIDENING HINDU-MUSLIM BREACH, 1885-1907.

CHAPTER XI

POLITICS, RELIGION, EDUCATION, AND LITERATURE
1885-1907

SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS OF EDUCATED INDIA

The year 1885, in which the Indian National Congress was founded, marks the beginning of a definite epoch in the cultural history of India. From this time onwards the Indian mind became self-conscious of its political position. In its early self-consciousness its vision was necessarily confused and uncertain. It still held to old slogans in which it no longer believed or only believed in a qualified form. It still professed to borrow its motive force and inspiration from England, but it began to distinguish between the Radical outlook which Lord Ripon had brought with him and the more historical outlook of the established interests in the British Services, the British planters, the British trading and manufacturing communities, and the great corporations of British capital which had established their hold on the life of India. On the one hand the Indians educated in English ranged themselves on the side of British Radicalism and looked with suspicion and mistrust on the established British interests. On the other hand these interests began to be more and more alienated from the English-educated Indians, whom they looked upon and rudely called "Babus" or clerks, not taking the trouble to understand their mentality or their growing influence among the people at large.

INSTRUMENTS FOR THE SPREAD OF ITS INFLUENCE

This influence was exerted in many ways, of which we may enumerate five. The highest positions open to the Indians were in the law. The men of the highest talents went into this profession. It was not only lucrative, but it brought them into contact with all classes of the people. It made them even dominate the landed classes, whose litigation they handled, and at whose expense they grew both in wealth, social importance, and opportunities of influencing the administrative, legislative, and political machinery. Their second lever was journalism. In a land mainly illiterate the written or printed word carries a weight beyond its actual circulation or intrinsic merit. As Indian journalism grew in circulation, its tone became more and more anti-British and anti-Government, and the vernaculars were a screen which partly protected them from official notice except during the four years (1878-1882) while Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act was in force. The third strong-hold which enabled educated Indian opinion to obtain cohesion and organisation was provided by the High Schools and Colleges. For examination purposes the Colleges were federated under the five universities, which also controlled the examinations forming the apex of high school education. A fourth—and a very powerful—instrument was placed in the hands of the educated classes by the new vernacular literatures, which they formed, and which reflected their prejudices, their feelings, their hopes, and their ideals. A fifth lever in the hands of the intelligentsia was furnished by the organs of local self-government. It was not used and developed for political ends till a later period, but when it was so used it became a most powerful force, as also happened with the Zemstvos in Russia. The recent activities of the Calcutta and Bombay Corporations and many smaller municipalities in the country are instances in point.

ATTACKS ON AUTHORITIES: PUBLIC MEETINGS AND PICE NEWSPAPERS

The visible starting point of all-India political aspirations may be considered to be the foundation of the Indian National Congress, but it was preluded by events that happened, chiefly in Bengal, during Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty. The Ilbert Bill stirred up passions on both sides—on the side of the established order and on the side of Radicalism, criticism, and change. The gulf between educated India and the British in India began to widen every day. The Indian journalists became bolder in attack, and Indian public men (mostly the same class) began to organise mass meetings and mass agitation. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Surendranath Banerjea in his paper *The Bengalee* (April 1883) attacked a High Court Judge, Mr. Justice Norris, for ordering a stone idol (*Sāligrām*) to be brought into his Court for inspection in connection with a pending case. He was convicted for contempt of court and sentenced to two months' imprisonment. The attack was based on religious grounds: that the Judge's order was an insult to the Hindu religion. The sentence gave the occasion for organised demonstrations and protests, which the hero of the demonstrations describes as an "upheaval of feeling," "sweeping through Bengal in 1883." At the call of religion mass meetings in the open air became possible, with an attendance as large as 10,000. The excitement created the demand for cheap vernacular newspapers. Keshub Chunder Sen, less than ten years before, had failed with his issue of a pice paper. Now the pice *Bangobāsi* of Babu Jogendranath Bose, and the pice *Sanjibāni* of Kristo Kumar Mitter, became popular Bengali papers and soon established a large circulation.

POLITICAL PROPAGANDA WITH RELIGIOUS FORMS

Mr. Banerjea was a first-class organiser. He and his friends arranged that he should be treated as a martyr. Nor were they content that the movement should remain provincial, or that it should die down after that particular incident was closed. Sympathetic meetings were held as far apart as Lahore, Amritsar, Agra, Fyzabad and Poona. A national fund of Rs. 20,000 was raised for the Indian Association of Calcutta, to be used for all-India political purposes. The Ilbert Bill agitation, and later, the public demonstrations in favour of Lord Ripon, as a counterpoise to the unfavourable send-off of the British community in India when that Viceroy laid down his office, showed that the Indian community could now organise effectively. An Indian National Conference was held in Calcutta in December 1883, and in the following year Mr. Banerjea toured through Northern India to gain the support of other Provinces. He visited Lahore, Multan, Delhi, Agra, Aligarh, Allahabad, and Bankipur. Among the subjects discussed at the Conference were: representative Councils, education, general and technical, the separation of judicial from executive functions in District administration, and the larger employment of Indians in the higher Government Services. The Government of Bengal had recently introduced the Out-still Excise system in crowded areas. This was a change for the worse from the point of view of temperance. Instead of liquor being manufactured and served out under strict supervision from a central distillery, these scattered out-stills encouraged the consumption of liquor and increased drunkenness. The agitation against it was successful, and out-stills were abolished. The agitation had linked religious forms with political propaganda. *Sankirtan* parties (perambulating groups singing songs) had toured round villages, with Vaishnava religious chants.

EARLY PHASES OF THE MOVEMENT

The second National Conference was held in Calcutta in the Christmas week of 1885, simultaneously with the first Indian National Congress in Bombay. At the Calcutta Conference the three leading local Indian Associations co-operated, *viz*: the British Indian Association, representing the Zamindars, the Indian Association representing the middle classes, and the Central Muhammadan Association, then under the guidance of Mr. Ameer Ali, representing the Muslims. It seems that there was some rivalry at the time between Bengal and the more general movement in Bombay, but they soon came into line, for the second session of the Indian National Congress was held in Calcutta in 1886. From 1888 onwards annual Provincial Conferences were regularly established as auxiliaries and feeders to the Congress.

BRITISH SUPPORTERS OF CONGRESS IDEA

It is unnecessary for our purposes to go into the detailed history of the Congress. From 1885 to 1907 inclusive, twenty-three annual Sessions were held, in the course of which the Congress gradually underwent a transformation—in methods, outlook, and the character of the personalities who swayed the movement. The year 1907 marked a definite stage in Congress history, and that is as far as we shall consider it in this chapter. Mr. Allan O. Hume (1829-1912) who had served in the Indian Civil

Service in the North-West Provinces (now the Agra Province in the United Provinces) and was a Secretary to Government in the Viceroyalty of Lord Mayo, is reputed to have been the father of the Congress idea. In the Radical atmosphere of Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty it found a favourable soil for its roots. Indian political organization was not without some indirect official countenance. Obviously a public body representing Indian opinion and responsive to it, would be a source of strength to a Government desiring to be in touch with the people. Mr. Hume was General Secretary of the Congress from its very inception, and continued to work for it both in India and in England till the date of his death in 1912. Among other notable Britishers who worked for the Congress were: Sir William Wedderburn, Baronet, Mr. W. S. Caine, M. P., and Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M. P. Sir William Wedderburn presided over the Congress at Bombay in 1889, worked for it in Parliament for seven years, and kept in being a Congress Committee in London until his death in 1918. Mr. W. S. Caine was the Temperance Reformer, who also supported the Congress cause in Parliament, and carried the Temperance propaganda into India. He visited the Calcutta Congress in 1890. Mr. Bradlaugh visited the Bombay Congress in 1889, and introduced a private Bill the following year in the British Parliament to reform the Indian Councils and introduce the elective principle. It came to nothing, but the Conservative Ministry's India Council Act of 1891 dealt with the same question in a more orthodox way.

HOW INDIANS RALLIED TO BRITISH NAMES

Besides Sir William Wedderburn there were three other British men elected as Presidents of the Congress. Mr. George Yule, a Calcutta Merchant, head of the firm of Andrew Yule and Co., presided at Allahabad in 1888; Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., a member of the Irish Parliamentary Party, presided at Madras in 1894; and Sir Henry Cotton, another retired member of the Indian Civil Service, presided at Bombay in 1904.* The Congress therefore owed much to Radical British support in the first twenty years of its existence. And that support was a tower of strength in the early stages and rallied the English-educated Indians to the Congress cause. It is remarkable how the names of English Presidents attracted audiences to the earlier Congresses. The first session in Bombay had an attendance of only 72. From 1885 to 1905 there were twenty-one sessions, of which four had British Presidents. On all these four occasions the attendance was over a thousand, and it never reached 1,000 on any other occasion, except one. The exception was in Poona in 1895, when there was a great deal of excitement in the Congress camp over the question of holding a Social Conference in the Congress Pandal. The Social Conference had been founded in 1887 by Mr. Mahadeo Govind Ranade (1842-1901), but there was a strong party opposed to social reform by legislative action, as for example through the Age of Consent Act of 1891, by which the age of consent for girls was raised in the Criminal Law from 10 to 12 years. A redoubtable opponent of the Act was Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1854-1920). His anti-reform party mustered in strong force in order to defeat the Reformers, and a crisis was only averted by the tact and good offices of Mr. Justice Ranade. Subsequently, in 1901, the atmosphere of the Social Conference was for root-and-branch Reform, under the lead of the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, who presided. He urged a strong plea against caste, early marriages, Parda and the denial of education to girls.

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*The election of Mrs. Annie Besant to preside over the Congress of 1917 falls under another category, and will be referred to in the following chapter.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED

The Resolutions passed in those Congresses referred to the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, with increased powers over budget and general discussions; increased employment of Indians in the higher public services, with simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service in India as well as England; the easing of the military expenditure; the authorisation of Indian Volunteer Corps, with a relaxation of the Indian Arms Act; legal reforms, such as the extension of Trial by Jury and the separation of judicial from executive functions in District administration; the position of Indians in South

Africa and the Empire generally; and an enquiry into industrial and economic conditions. The enthusiasts for social reform had to keep their proceedings entirely separate, and, as we have seen, there was a strong party opposed to their hitching their programme on to the Congress. As Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee said in 1892, "we do not all understand in the same sense what is meant by social reform," and unanimity was more desired in those days than any close grip with facts.

HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS

An attempt was made to get the Muslims as a body to join, and the two Muslim Presidents, Mr. Badruddin Tyabji at Madras in 1887, and Mr. Rahmatullah Muhammad Sayani at Calcutta in 1896 made eloquent pleas in that behalf. But they were both from Bombay. The Muslims of Northern India, where the chief centres of Muslim population lie, obeyed the strong call of Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan, and not only refused to join, but considered the Congress propaganda as detrimental to their interests. As the years passed, Hindu-Muslim relations became less cordial and indeed more bitter. In the Maratha country the cults of Ganpati and Shivaji exasperated the Muslims, and the five days' Hindu-Muslim riots of 1893 in Bombay were among the most sanguinary outbreaks then known. Rangoon, Bareilly, and Azamgarh had suffered from similar outbreaks only six weeks before, and unity between the two communities seemed farther than ever.

EARLY PRO-BRITISH TONE OF THE CONGRESS: HOW IT BECAME TRANSFORMED

We have seen what a large share in the foundation and maintenance of the Congress was borne by English publicists in the early days. The spirit of the Congress and its outlook were also British. Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji spoke at some length on the "blessings of British rule" at Calcutta in 1886, and his remarks were received with loud cheers. In 1890 a Congress Deputation visited England, and a London session was discussed in 1891. Mr. Naoroji's election to the British Parliament in 1892 and the Irish Home Rule Bill brought the Congress into direct touch with the Irish Home Rulers, one of whom came over to preside over the Congress in 1894. The estrangement of the people from the Government in connection with the Poona plague operations in 1896-7 started an anarchical movement in the Maratha country, which affected the tone of the Congress. The deportation of the Natu brothers and the prosecution of Mr. Tilak not only brought the Maharashtra party into conflict with the Government but created an extreme wing in the Congress, which was prepared to sympathise with the use of means other than constitutional against the Government. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915), the most sagacious and far-sighted Moderate leader that India has produced, was just saved from a false step at an early stage in his career, by a retractation which seemed humiliating at the time, but which enabled him to consolidate his position in the Legislative Council in the service of the country. Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty (1899-1905) and Japan's victories over Russia in 1904-05, coupled with severe famines and economic distress, brought about a transformation in Indian public opinion which caused the Congress crisis in 1907.

LORD CURZON'S ATTITUDE AND POLICY

"Lord Curzon did not understand the people of India," said Mr. Gokhale in Benares in 1905. To this misunderstanding may in a great measure be ascribed the strange fact that the ablest Viceroy sent out (till then) by England to rule India undermined the foundations of British rule in that country. His restlessness and conceit, and his attitude of lofty superiority to the people and their culture and modes of thought, killed even the wise reforms which he tried to initiate. What is more, it left a legacy of hatred and prejudice which has not yet been exhausted. Besides his own painstaking studies of Indian problems of every kind, he appointed numerous Commissions to collect facts and give a direction to policies. Unfortunately his own point of view, and that of his Commissions accentuated an Imperialist standpoint amounting almost to a contempt of Indian views. This caused much misunderstanding and cultural conflict. His Universities Commission (1902) was unpopular, and its findings and the policy based upon them disturbed the whole of educated

India. The Congress Presidential speech of 1902 stated the Indian case against them. In its view the new policy tended to narrow the popular basis of university education and restrict its area. The Commission's suggestion of minimum rates of College fees was looked upon as an attack on the educational opportunities of the poor. The fundamental reforms in the constitution and functions of the Universities were looked upon as bringing them more under the control of the bureaucracy and neutralising the efforts of the private Colleges, of which there were 59 out of a total of 78 under the Calcutta University. The Famine Commission sought more to perfect the Government machinery of famine relief than to get to the root causes of famines and so take measures for their prevention. Mr. Dinshaw Edalji Wacha's Presidential Congress Address in 1901 was an ably-reasoned, though lengthy, document, criticising the Government's economic policy in all its aspects—as it related to famines, land revenue, irrigation, railways, taxation and currency. Four years earlier, in 1897, he had offered a strong criticism of army expenditure before Lord Welby's Royal Commission of Indian Expenditure.

PARTITION OF BENGAL; SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

The worst mistake of Lord Curzon was the Partition of Bengal (1905) and the manner in which it was carried through. It was a psychological rather than an administrative mistake. As such it created an atmosphere which poisoned Indo-British relations. The inflammatory agitation which was set on foot in Bengal spread all over India and compelled the reversal of the Partition in 1911. The reversal widened the breach between the Muslim and the Hindu communities, because Eastern Bengal as a separate Province with a strong Muslim majority seemed more likely to be administered favourably to Muslim interests. The sense of power which the successful agitation had brought to the political mind of Bengal and India generally was strengthened by striking events that were happening in the general politics of Asia. Japan (as already stated) defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). Persia became (1905) a constitutional monarchy with parliamentary government. The Turkish Revolution of 1908 gave Turkey an advanced form of representative government. China got its National Assembly in 1910 and swept away the foreign rule of the Manchus in 1912. The whole of Asia felt a new thrill, and its peoples a new sense of confidence in themselves. In such an atmosphere the Partition agitation of Bengal, led by so skilful a hand as that of Surendranath Banerjea, had far more than local or temporary significance. Along with it were launched two economic movements, Swadeshi and Boycott, which not only gathered impetus from political and racial motives, but brought funds into the national movement from the wealthy manufacturing classes. Swadeshi, or the support and fostering of home industries, in its purely economic aspects, must necessarily be a permanent factor in any nationalistic or patriotic propaganda, and was later accepted by the Government as a legitimate principle in its industrial policy. For a few years after 1905 an annual Industrial Conference used to be held along with the Congress through the inspiration of Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, of Berar and the Central Provinces. The boycott of British goods is frankly a lever for putting political pressure by economic means. Its use therefore involves political conflict and bitterness, and its justification or otherwise must rest on other than economic or moral grounds.

CLEAVAGE IN CONGRESS: GOKHALE'S SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

In the Partition excitement of 1905 signs of a cleavage of political opinion began to appear in the Congress. Mr. Gokhale and other Moderate leaders began to feel that wild talk and wild action might do more harm than good to India, and might even retard the constitutional movement. On the other hand the Government of Lord Minto, in consultation with the Liberal Secretary of State, Mr. John Morley, (afterwards Lord Morley), recognised the phase of Indian discontent that was "justifiable," and laid plans for further constitutional reforms which came into force in 1909. But a bitter and irreconcilable party grew up at the same time, which did not trust Britain's word, which did not believe in the efficacy of constitutional work, and which sympathised with, if it did not actively organise, underground conspiracies and methods of murder and violence. Mr. Gokhale had a constitutional mind, but he felt the weakness of his movement in not having a Research Secretariat behind him, which would enable him to meet the Government in argument on equal terms. His Servants of India Society, founded in 1905, was partly to provide such a Secretariat and centre of study and research. Its active work was meant "to train national political missionaries for the service of India and to promote by all constitutional means the true interests of the Indian people." The Society frankly accepted the British connection and included economic study and social work in its programme. This recognition of an all-round advance if politics are to bear fruit has prevented it from working in a barren field, though the enthusiasm behind it has waned since its early days.

THE STORM AND STRESS OF 1907

Slow and steady work, especially where there seem to be no results visible, always appeals less to the crowd than a fiery propaganda, especially if it is allied with religious mysticism or appears to suffer from political persecution. Mr. Arabindo Ghose, a poet and religious mystic from Bengal, and Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a Maratha journalist, with a strong aggressive outlook, were opposed in 1907 to Mr. Gokhale the constitutionalist and Mr. Surendranath Banerjea the orator; and Tilak's party won. The Congress was to have been held that year in Nagpur, but its Reception Committee was broken up by extremists. A meeting was arranged for Surat, and Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was proposed to the chair, but the extremists wanted Lala Lajpat Rai, the Punjab hero of the deportations. A free fight ensued, and the meeting broke up in disorder. The Congress had now ceased to be a unanimous body. The party of violence now openly carried on its propaganda. There were riots in Bengal and the Punjab. Press prosecutions were undertaken, and special legislation aimed at public meetings was carried through. The political atmosphere of India was full of anxiety and confusion. The story of further developments in political ideas will be taken up in the next chapter.

VIVEKANANDA AND SISTER NIVEDITA

Politics seemed to overshadow the cultural life of India during this period. The other cultural movements seemed now to take their colour from politics. The Arya Samaj was in the fore-front of the political movement through its leader Lala Lajpat Rai. The religious reform movements connected with the Brahmo Somaj fell more and more into the background on the public stage. Orthodox Hinduism itself felt the impulse of the national movement. The boundaries between it and modernist movements became much thinner. Swami Vivekananda (Norendre Nath Datta, 1862-1902) produced a great impression at the Chicago Congress of Religions, 1893, by his fresh interpretation of Vedantism in English. He had left the Brahmo Somaj to become a pupil of Sri Rama-Krishna Paramhansa Deva, vedantist (1836-1886). A Ramakrishna mission of social service was founded. A world-wide propaganda was attempted, of which the first-fruits were the recruitment of that talented English lady Miss Margaret Noble, who was admitted into the Order as Sister Nivedita. She joined the social work in Calcutta, and contributed by her beautifully written books to a new interpretation of Hindu mythology, Hindu folk-lore, and Hindu art and life, as well as a fresh orientation of Hindu religious thought in its bearing on social customs. Her life among Hindu women as one of themselves was a mission in a far higher sense than the word ordinarily implies, and her sympathy and service in the famine and floods of Eastern Bengal (1906) have left an abiding and precious memory. Among her works may be mentioned: *The Web of Indian Life* (1904); *Cradle Tales of Hinduism* (1907); and *Footfalls of Indian History* (1915). Her death in 1911 was a sad blow to this movement. In my opinion its importance lies less in the favourable impression it produced in countries outside India than in the new atmosphere it created at home. It was an achievement to absorb into its fold a Sister Nivedita. The life which this cultured woman lived in Hindu homes, not as an outsider but as one of themselves, devoted to the service of the poor, and the teaching of a practical religion free from dogmas and caste distinctions, have leavened Hindu thought.

THE BHAKTI AND GITA MOVEMENTS

The reaction against the didactic rationalism of the Brahmo Somaj found expression in many forms in Bengal. Perhaps we may call the whole movement of reaction the Bhakti movement. It responded to the strong emotionalism of Bengal and was a revival, if not a continuation, of the age-long Vaishnava tradition. Pandit Bijoi Krishna Goswami, who had himself seceded from the Brahmo Somaj, may be taken as a characteristic exponent of this school of thought, though many leaders of thought have found it more congenial to their spiritual hunger than the cold rationalism of an earlier generation. The *Bhagavad-Gita* is their prime fountain of inspiration, and the Bhakti Yoga may be described as their way of life. The ardent reformer and educationist Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar supported the Gita cult. Ashwini Kumar Datta and Manoranjan Guha-Thakurta followed the same banner. In Dr. Rabindranath Tagore we may see the same influence though as a great poet he stands apart by himself and is above labels.

THEOSOPHY AND MRS. BESANT

A very different woman from Sister Nivedita was Mrs. Annie Besant (1847–1933), whose influence on religion and politics in India has been enormous. As President of the Theosophical Society she was a world figure. Born in London (1847) she married a Church of England clergyman. The marriage was a failure, and she took up an aggressive atheistic propaganda with Charles Bradlaugh for fourteen years (1874-88). She then (1889) took up Theosophy with the same ardour. The Theosophical Society had been founded in America in 1875 by Madame H. P. Blavatsky. She came of a noble German-Russian family, had travelled widely in little-known countries including Tibet, and had a mystical personality. She rejected the Spiritualism of her day, and claimed a higher key to the mystical phenomena through the ancient wisdom of the East as expounded by spiritual beings who (she maintained) still communicated and came into contact with human beings in the sacred lands of the Himalayas. Colonel Olcott, of the United States Army, joined her. They established their headquarters in India (Adyar, near Madras) in 1879. They aimed at a universal spiritual brotherhood, and found support in all religions for certain spiritual phenomena which they claimed had been misunderstood. The Theosophical Society seeks its foundations of spiritual knowledge in nature, science, philosophy, and the intuition of superior men. In philosophy it seeks inspiration from the Upanishads, and the three old Hindu schools of Samkhya, Yoga, and Vedanta, but it lays stress on living world-teachers, those in the spiritual world as well as those incarnated in human life. Esoteric or secret wisdom, taught by adepts or Mahatmas, who keep touch with each other, and seek out fit vehicles for instruction, is a fair description of its claims. Mrs. Besant's co-operation in theosophy in India was most valuable to the movement, and she was elected President of the Society on Colonel Olcott's death in 1907. Meanwhile she had started the Central Hindu College in Benares in 1898 and thus established a form of modern and scientific education, combined with instruction in a modernist school of Hinduism. The College grew and flourished and became the Hindu University in 1916. Mrs. Besant also interested herself in the nationalist politics of India, but her political activities fall more naturally within the next period. Her Central Hindu Girls' School in Benares (1904) was a symbol of her service to the women of India.

QADIANI OR AHMADIYA MOVEMENT

Among the Muslim religious movements of the period the most important was that which arose in Qadian, Gurdastur District, in the Panjab. In one aspect it may be looked upon as a defence movement against the Arya Samaj, which had carried on an active proselytising propaganda. But it was much wider in its scope. In doctrinal matters it has few points of difference from the general Muslim community, but its strength lies in its social organisation and its propaganda, which have met with considerable success. Its founder Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1839-1908), after whom the movement calls itself Ahmadiya, was a vigorous exponent of religious doctrines, and published his *Barāhīn i Ahmadīya* in 1880. From 1889 onwards he began to accept *bai'at* (mystic fealty) like the Sūfi teachers, and this may be taken to be the date of the Ahmadiya movement as a separate organisation. In 1891 he claimed to be the promised Messiah (*Masīh i Mau'ūd*), as prophesied in Muslim theology. He called himself the second Ahmed, with reference to *Qur-ān*, lxi. 6. This involved him in bitter controversies with Muslims, Arya Samajists, and Christians. In 1904 he claimed to be a manifestation (*burūz*) or Avatar (incarnation) of the holy Krishna. The movement gained many adherents, chiefly in the Panjab. It does much educational and social work, and has established missions far and wide. In 1913 there was a schism. The Lahore branch of the Ahmadiyas cut itself off from the main body, and claimed for Mirza Ghulam Ahmad only the position of a *Mujaddid*, or millennial teacher or reformer, thus reverting nearer to the main body of Islam.

FEATURES OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

In educational history there are three striking features. In the first place the field of education was widened, and attempts were made to improve its quality. Secondly, the idea of getting away from the original London University scheme of a purely examining body made progress, and Indian and oriental ideas began to assert themselves. And thirdly, non-official influence and agencies came to count more and more in education. From a superficial point of view they may have led to some departure from official standards of efficiency. But on the whole it hastened the process by which the mind of the people itself began to be reflected in our education rather than mere foreign ideas super-imposed on them in its inner details and working.

THE TWO NEW UNIVERSITIES OF THE PANJAB AND OF ALLAHABAD: DENOMINATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Two new universities were now added to the picture, *viz.*, the Panjab University in 1882, and the Allahabad University in 1887. They both tapped some of the most ancient seats of Indian culture, and developed on lines different from those of the Presidency Universities. The promoters of the Panjab University had conceived of their university as performing three distinct functions: those of a supreme literary body, developing the taste and literature of the people; a supreme teaching body, setting a standard of teaching that would reach all institutions from top to bottom; and a supreme examining body, that would test the results of its other two functions. At first there was some controversy whether it was to develop only Oriental learning, but it was wisely settled that it was to diffuse western knowledge through the vernaculars as well as to develop the study of Oriental classics. Its ideals suffered a certain amount of dilution through the example of the older universities. But the denominational Schools and Colleges of the Muslims, the Arya Samaj, and later, the Sikhs, made it possible to introduce religious education. No synthesis, however, of religious or moral education was attempted, or was indeed possible. And it is a question whether in actual practice denominationalism in religion did not retard or even prevent the process of unification in public life, which has been the great ideal of political leaders since 1885. Under the Allahabad University, the Muslim College in Aligarh and the Hindu College in Benares pursued their respective points of view, but they became so divergent that they ended by being separate universities altogether later on.

OLDER UNIVERSITIES: OTHER CULTURAL INFLUENCES

The older universities also instituted a number of fruitful reforms. Bombay quite early in the 1880's instituted its degree of Bachelor of Science to correspond to the scientific side of the Arts degree in Calcutta. The Calcutta University instituted Honours courses. Madras introduced the degree of Licentiate in Teaching (1886), and thus paved the way for the systematisation of the theory and practice of teaching. Everywhere the tendency was to have fewer subjects in a given exmination and to insist on more accurate and fuller knowledge. Specialisation became inevitable, and professional teaching in Law, Medicine, and Engineering aimed at higher standards. Oriental learning itself began to be specialised under the researches and teaching of Indians themselves. The mantle of Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra of Bengal (1824-1891) fell on Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar of Bombay (1837-1925). The Bhandarkar Institute, founded in 1917, and the Annual All-India Oriental Conference, begun in 1919 under the auspices of the Institute, commemorate his name. The researches of Kashinath Trimbak Telang (1850-94) in Sanskrit antiquities and Maratha history, and of Maulana Shibli Nu'mani (1857-1914) in Persian literature, Muslim history, and Urdu literary criticism, stand out as monuments in the cultural history of India. Shibli received no university education of the Indian State type, but his work had deep and lasting results. Among Schools of Art, the Lahore School, under Mr. Lockwood Kipling, father of the poet Rudyard Kipling, did much to study the actual artistic work of the country. It devoted its attention to the higher and more artistic branches of Indian crafts and to the principles of design. It tried to become, as Calcutta and Bombay have since tried to become, an aesthetic centre and source of enlightened criticism and advice to the artistic industries of its Province.

THE UNTAUGHT ART OF RAVI VARMA

While the four Art Schools of Lahore, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were laboriously building up a new art tradition, avoiding an imitation of foreign models on the one hand and the lack of virility and vitality in the neglected indigenous work on the other, there arose an untaught painter in the remote corner of Travancore. His great popularity proves that he had hit the national Hindu taste. Ravi Varma was born in 1848. His uncle Raja Varma was a painter, who had access to the Court of Travancore. The boy began to paint in water colours at fourteen years of age, without any regular training. Eventually he began to paint in oils. In 1873 he came under the notice of the English Superintendent of the Technical School of Madras, who was on a visit to Travancore. This brought him to the notice of the wider world. His work was exhibited at the Madras Art Exhibition in 1874, and he won the Governor's Medal with his Portrait of a Nair Lady adorning herself with a garland of jasmine. He now went on painting character studies, portraits, and mythological subjects. In 1878 he painted a portrait of the Governor of Madras. He subsequently obtained large commissions in the Baroda and Mysore States, and a large popular demand arose for copies of his pictures of Hindu mythology. His oleographs, reproduced by a cheap and not very artistic process, commanded a large sale in the bazaars. Before his death in 1906 he had established a wide reputation throughout Hindu India. In spite of the criticism of experts like Dr. Coomaraswamy, the fact of his wide popularity demands notice, although his work will not endure like that of the Bengali School of Indian Art and other works, which we shall notice in the next period.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN 1904

We have already referred to Lord Curzon's Universities Commission of 1902. The Universities Act of 1904 must be read along with the Government of India's Resolution on Educational Policy, dated 11th March 1904. The Resolution comprehensively surveyed the whole field of Education. It called pointed attention to the insufficient attention paid to primary education and the inadequate share it had received of public funds. It found Secondary Education too literary and attempted to connect it with industries and crafts. Higher technical education, technical scholarships for study abroad, industrial schools, commercial and agricultural education, and training colleges and hostels—all received attention. A new Department of Education was created in the Central Government. But Lord Curzon's unpopularity and the distrust created in the public mind by other controversies prevented the full realisation of the ideals sketched out.

SPIRIT OF SELF-HELP IN EDUCATION

The influence of non-official Indian men and women on education became very marked. The appointment of Indians as Vice-Chancellors in some of the Universities, brought the work of the Universities into closer touch with Indian life and thought. Dr. N. G. Chandavarkar's Convocation Addresses at the Bombay University in 1909 and 1910 are still remembered for their close association of actual Indian conditions with lofty ideals, Justice Ranade never failed to urge the claims of economic studies and industrial organization on educated India, and hiw wife, Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, published in Marathi in 1910 some reminiscences of their joint lives, sketching in the vernacular a picture of the influence which women were beginning to wield in public life in India. At a later stage Dr. Ashutosh Mukerji (1864-1924) as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University dominated the whole educational field of Bengal. The munificent endowment of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose (1845-1921) to the Calcutta University are almost proverbial. He was among the promoters in 1904 of the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education, and in 1905, of the National Council of Education in Bengal. He was also President of the Bengal Technical Institute, started in 1906, to which Sir Taraknath Palit gave a handsome endowment. Both Dr. Ghose and Sir Taraknath Palit left munificent sums for education when they died. Not only in Bengal, but all over India, a new spirit of self-help had come over Indian thought in matters of education as well as of public administration. The Fergusson College of Poona, founded in 1884, on the principle of self-sacrificing devotion to education, is associated with the names of Mr. Tilak, Mr. Gokhale, and Dr. Paranjpye.

LITERARY MOVEMENTS IN BENGAL

The absorption of Bengal in political agitation left little room for new names in imaginative literature during this period. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee continued to dominate the literary field till his death in 1894. His idealisation of the cult of Krishna gave a beautiful literary form to the Bhakti School of Vaishnava thought in religion, of which we have already noticed other forms. His later work may be claimed as a literary expression of political Hinduism. Younger writers like Dvijendra Lal Ray and Rabindranath Tagore were coming to the fore, and preparing the way for the winning of even greater laurels for Bengali literature. The dramatic genius of Bengal was producing literary plays which had more than a local or temporary significance. It was beginning to be introspective, and not afraid of criticising the weak points in Hinduism itself. It was taking plots from history and twisting them for propagandist aims. It was becoming an instrument for religious and political reform. The *Swadeshi Andolan* movement which swept over Bengal like an irresistible tide in 1904-7, had as its immediate cause the Partition of Bengal and as its immediate objective the boycott of British goods as a means of political pressure to get the Partition annulled. But its root causes and its ultimate consequences went much farther. It had its literary, religious, and artistic side, and its all-India significance, which appeared clearly long after the Partition was annulled. It will be best therefore to defer the consideration of Dvijendra Lal Ray and Rabindranath Tagore to the next chapter.

THE NEW LEAVEN IN URDU

The same widening of outlook and the same revolt from the domination of English or European culture is to be observed in Urdu literature. But in degree it was less intense; in time it kept a little in arrear of the Hindu movement of Bengal; and in tendency it was less concentrated and precise. The Urdu theatre even seems to have lost ground, judged by the standard of literary art, social criticism, or the focussing of new ideas on national life. The increasing political divergence between the Hindu and Muslim communities also prevented the presentation of a united intellectual front in dealing with the big problems of the country as a whole. The immense advance of English education and journalism, and the increasing share of Indians in public life, where English was the *lingua franca*, threw a further handicap on Urdu.

SHIBLI NU'MĀNI

Maulāna Shibli Nu'māni (1857-1914), though his chief literary work fell in this period, really in spirit belonged to an earlier age. He knew no English. But he was a great traveller, and his interest in the modern cultural movements in all Islamic countries was deep and his knowledge more accurate than in earlier Urdu writers. His critical faculties were highly developed, and his most important contributions to Urdu literature are to be sought in literary and historical criticism. He set a new standard in these fields. His *Mawāzina Anīs o Dabīr* called the attention of Urdu readers to canons of literary criticism independent of personalities, and showed that a well-balanced judgment, viewing rival poets impartially, and dissecting the strength and weakness of each individual poet or author, was necessary for a due appreciation of literary work. His *Sha'r ul 'Ajam* discussed the wider questions arising out of a study of Persian poetry, a study which had fallen into a rut in India. In literary criticism Pandit Brij Narayen Chakbast of Lucknow (born 1882), himself a poet, performed a similar service for Urdu, with the added advantage that Chakbast was an English as well as an Urdu scholar. In historical criticism Shibli's *Rasāil* (Essays) take a high rank. In his religious biographies the completed *Al-Māmun* and *Al-Fārūq*, and the imcomplete *Sirat un Nabi* (Life of the Prophet) showed a due appreciation of the historical setting, combined with a judicious and reverent discussion of the historical questions which a religious historian, like any other historian, must set himself to solve. His management of the *Nadwat-ul-'Ulamā* brought that society of Muslim divines into touch with modern views and modern knowledge, as well as English education. The *Dār-ul-Musannifin* in Azamgarh is a centre of research which keeps Shibli's memory green and develops his work under the fostering and competent guidance of Saiyid Sulaimān Nadwi.

SHARAR: THE WIDE INTERESTS OF HIS LIFE

Maulvi 'Abdul Halīm Sharar, of Lucknow, (1860-1926), occupies a large place among the masters of modern Urdu prose. But he was also a journalist, an educationist, a traveller, and a religious and social reformer. Unfortunately, in none of this numerous activities, did he form a sufficiently large circle to form a school of thought, and his fame will chiefly rest on his novels. His historical novels form a long series, and many of them were published as serials in his magazines. Brought up with the Princes of the Oudh Royal family in their exile in Matiya Burj, Calcutta, he not only imbibed the literary traditions of an Urdu-speaking court, but learnt much modern Persian through personal and intimate contact with the Persians who frequented Matiya Burj. With colloquial Arabic he also acquired an intimate acquaintance by personal contact with Arabs. He accompanied a son of Nawāb Wiqār-ul-Umarā of Hyderabad to England as a tutor in 1893-6. His natural powers of observation and his acute intellect, combined with his established reputation as a journalist and novelist enabled him to profit by western literary methods, and greatly enlarged the range of his interests. He also learnt French. He subsequently served (1908-9) in the Education Department of the Hyderabad State. But his interest was always in Lucknow and in the numerous causes which he had at heart. Quite early in his career he had been attracted to the simplicity of the Wahhābi doctrines. Later he wrote on Tasauwuf (Sūfi mysticism), and his mind seems to have taken that turn. The freedom of style with which he wrote an account of the lives of such sacred personages as Sakīna bint Husain gave offence to religious persons, and his advocacy of the relaxation of the Parda in his monthly paper *Parda i'Asmat* (from 1900 onwards) created a still wider gulf between him and orthodoxy. His attempt to bring about a better understanding between the Hindu and Muslim communities through his fortnightly paper *Ittiḫād* won him popularity with neither community, and his powerful intellect remained isolated to the last.

HIS HISTORICAL NOVELS

He continued his historical researches with much benefit to Urdu literature. They were, however, on a different plane from those of Maulana Shibli. Shibli was a savant, and Sharar was an imaginative writer with a graphic and popular pen. It is fair to compare him with the Bengali novelist Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, whose *Durgesh Nandini* he translated into Urdu in 1899. In all the excellences of the novelist's craft—character-drawing, skilful construction of plots, sustained interest and easy flow of story, and historical scene-painting—Sharar easily holds his own in the comparison. In dealing with historical facts Sharar's vision is less distorted, because he had no axe to grind, while the whole Bengali atmosphere—both in novels and plays—had become charged with a pseudo-history that sought chiefly to glorify Hinduism in its political and religious aspects. In one respect—and that a very important one from the Indian standpoint—Sharar yields the palm to his Bengali compeer. His novels belong to past ages and other countries. In the close and living intimacy of time and place, which are essential characteristics in a national literature, his novels fail, and they have never achieved much popularity among Hindu readers. In this respect he lags far behind Amir Khusrau, who lived 600 years before him. His earliest novel, *Malik al-'Azīz aur Varjina*, deals with the loves of a son of Saladdin and a niece of Richard King of England during the Wars of the Crusades. In his most popular novel *Firdaus i Barrīn* the opening scene is laid in the Elburz Mountains (Kohsār Tāliqān) between Mazanderān and Kāzvīn, the wild country known as the abode of Deos in the Shshnama. The period is the seventh century of the Hijra. The weird mysteries of the Bātiniya sect are woven into the story. In *Flora Florinda* we go back to Muslim Spain, with a sensational account of Roman Catholic priests and nuns. In *Mansūr aur Mohana* we are taken to the times of Maḥmūd of Ghazni. To an Urdu reader in Lucknow, Delhi, or Lahore, in the 20th century, these novels convey no commentary on the life which he knows, and to convey such commentary is the highest function of imaginative literature.

THE POET AKBAR: HIS STYLE AND SUBJECTS OF SATIRE

In contrast to Sharar shines out the actuality and realism of the poetry of Saiyid Akbar Ḥusain Akbar (1846-1921). After his retirement from judicial service in the United Provinces he poured forth a flood of epigrams and caustic satires in verse, which form a running commentary on contemporary matters. They earned him the sobriquet of *Lisān ul 'Asr* ("the Tongue of the Age"). In technique his style is comic and admits a large number of English words for their ludicrous effect in Urdu. In subject-matter he embodies three tendencies. First, he voices the strong protest of the East against the culture of the West, all in the satirical vein, but applied to particular incidents as they happen in India from day to day. The following biting quatrain has a piercing cruelty in it:—

"What though thou wearest coat and trousers,
Livest in a Bungalow, hast soap and articles of western toilet?
Let me just ask thee this question, o man of Hind;
Hast thou in thy veins perchance a drop of European blood?"

This cultural protest is the Muslim counterpart of the general *malaise* with western civilisation, which finds expression all over India in our day. Only, in similar Hindu movements, there is more constructive effort, and more chance of tangible results in the political work in which it finds expression. Secondly, Akbar deplored the decline of faith and religion in India.

He says:—

"My rivals have repeatedly gone to the police station to report
That I am committing (the crime of) remembering God in this (advanced) age."

Or again:—

"In this new civilisation, there is not much difficulty to get over:
The religions remain established; only faith is lost."

In the third place, he was down on all cant, insincerity, and levity:–

"If I talk of religion, it vanishes in jokes;
If I talk of a serious purpose it vanishes in policy;
Whatever little sense there may yet be left in my people,
Will, 'tis most likely, all vanish in this century."

Akbar's apparently comic criticism had a very serious purpose behind it. Unfortunately it was undiluted destructive pessimism. It failed to see the elements of recuperative energy that lie hid behind much that is futile and ridiculous in modern India. He was therefore unable to help in the growth of the saner forces. Iqbāl, of whom we shall speak in the next chapter, has at least a solution to offer of the cultural chaos which he also criticises unsparingly.

SECTION VII

THE LATEST PHASE

CHAPTER XII

POLITICS, ECONOMICS, EDUCATION, ART, LITERATURE, 1908-1931

DIFFERENTIATION OF MODERATES OR THE LIBERAL PARTY FROM THE CONGRESS

The split in the Indian National Congress of 1907 seemed to cause an irreparable breach between what were called the Extreme and the Moderate Parties. In reality it brought political India face to face with realities—realities of temperaments or mental attitudes, realities of interests, and realities of facts. Outside the Congress there was an anarchical party which worked underground and used bombs, fire-arms, threats, and inflammatory literature, and resorted to murder and assassination as political weapons. Within the Congress as held in Madras in 1908, the Moderates seemed to have won, and Constitutionalists like Dr. Rash Behari Ghose expatiated on local self-government and other safe topics. They hedged themselves round with loyalty to the British connection in the Congress Constitution. But the real field for their work was opening out in the enlarged Legislative Councils created by the Minto-Morley Reforms in 1909 and in the high offices of State like memberships of the Executive Councils, Advocate-Generalships, and memberships of the India Council in London, which were thrown open to them under the Minto-Morley Scheme. In the Congress itself the party of opposition to Government grew stronger and stronger until it captured the Congress completely at Bombay in 1918, and the Moderate Party definitely withdrew as a separate Party under the name of the Liberal Party and held separate meetings of their own.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS OF MUSLIM AND NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEAN FEELING IN INDIAN POLITICS

Since then, even the small number of Muslim adherents to the Congress, such as Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, Mr. Hasrat Mohani, and others have undergone transformations of opinion with the changing tides in the interplay of Muslim and Hindu political feeling. With Swadeshi (the movement for the support of home industries), a certain amount of support from the manufacturing interests was won by the Congress, and its combination with the boycott propaganda brought into the full stream of politics not only the Indian merchants but also (on the other side) the British Chambers of Commerce and the British merchants, whose material interests were so intimately affected. The European associations in the time of Lord Ripon were organised expressly to combat the claims of Indians in the direction of self-government and increased devolution of powers. When British policy accepted these as natural and legitimate demands, and took progressive steps for their realisation, non-official British opinion was at first in a confused state, and was in general inclined to be indifferent to the movements in India. When those movements, however, threatened British trade interests by effective organisation, British non-official opinion has shown itself willing to cooperate in measures of political reform, directing their energies for the enactment of proper safeguards for British commercial interests.

POSITION OF THE INDIAN STATES

The Ruling Princes of India, also, since the creation of the Chamber of Princes under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1918-19, have been brought into touch with each other, and with the political movements in British India. They have, in joint consultation, through their constitutional organ, the Chamber of Princes, been able to examine and ventilate their own grievances, in such matters as railway and tariff policies, the Salt Act, Defence, their treaty relations with the Paramount Power, and what they considered unnecessary and unwarrantable interference by the Paramount Power in their internal affairs. They engaged eminent British counsel to prepare their case; Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee, appointed by the Government of India, examined their contentions (1927-8); the Statutory Commission under Sir John Simon devoted an important section of the Report (1930) to the idea of bringing them into an all-India Federation in the future Constitution of British India; and the

Princes themselves joined the first Round Table Conference in London (1930-1) to consider the feasibility of their inclusion in the Federation.

CULTURAL FEATURES OF MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS

The Minto-Morley Reforms of 1908-9, viewed from a cultural point of view, had three important features. First, in inviting Indians to share in the highest executive and judicial offices in India, and in the membership of the Secretary of State's Council in London, the path was now open for Indians to influence policy in the highest quarters and to share officially in the public life of the Metropolis of the Empire. Syed Ameer Ali's appointment in 1909 as the first Indian member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London had tended in the same direction. Secondly, the enlargement of the Indian Legislative Councils, with elected non-official majorities, which could defeat the Government of India or the Provincial Governments in important divisions, brought the business of legislation and administration before the people of India through their elected representatives. It was never Lord Morley's intention to create responsible Parliamentary government for India. He considered the conditions in India unsuitable for it. But a Legislature which could defeat the Executive by votes without displacing it or without imposing its will on it was an anomaly. Where feelings ran high, such a situation must lead to bitterness, and widen the breach between the people and the organs of government. This actually happened, and political crime and repressive measures to meet them, seemed to increase rather than die down. Thirdly, the foundation of the Muslim League in 1906 under the leadership of the Agha Khan and Nawab Salimullah Khan of Dacca (in anticipation of the Minto-Morley Reforms), and the creation of separate electorates for Muslims and Hindus under the Reforms, isolated the Muslims from the general politics of India, and widened the breach between the two communities. The principle having once been introduced, the process of fission was carried further for other communities and interests, and Indian politics became a chequer-board of unsymmetrical arrangement. We are not discussing here the necessity or the merits of these arrangements, but noting their effect on the growth of political ideas in India.

KING EMPEROR'S DARBAR OF 1911

King George V's Coronation Darbar at Delhi in December 1911 was meant to conciliate the feeling in India, where the Anarchist movement was still strong, and the agitation against the Partition of Bengal was still violent. The Partition was now reversed, and the creation of the new Province of Bihar recognised the principle of cultural difference giving a legitimate right to separate political and administrative organisations, though the bracketing of Orissa with Bihar showed that the time had not yet arrived for working out the principle completely or logically. Orissa was eventually constituted a separate Province in 1935. In the Despatch preliminary to the Darbar the Government of India sketched the ideal of a federation of autonomous Provinces. There were other announcements of great cultural significance. His Majesty the King himself urged a powerful plea for generous expenditure in education, which formed the starting point of a new educational impulse. Indian soldiers were for the first time made eligible for the coveted Victoria Cross, and they subsequently won this supreme military distinction "for valour" in eleven cases during the Great War. The removal of the Capital to Delhi, though liable to criticism on financial and other grounds, brought the centre of gravity of British India to Upper India, facilitated geographically more intimate relations between British India and the India of the Indian States, and re-established the continuity of British Indian culture with Mughal and pre-Mughal culture through the old historic capital of Muslim and Hindu dynasties. The building of the new City of Delhi gave an opportunity of stimulating Indian arts and industries, and this was utilised to a small extent, especially in decorations. Some regard was paid in the architecture of the Viceroy's House and the Secretariats, and the imposing group of round and domed buildings comprising the three-fold Council Chambers, to Eastern feeling and traditions. But the artistic and other direction of the whole enterprise remained in

British hands, and under British architects, and of the huge expenditure of 14½ crores to the end of 1930, only a very small proportion can really be credited to the encouragement of Indian art or culture.

ANTI-BRITISH FEELING, AND RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES

The anti-British feeling failed to be pacified by the Minto-Morley reforms or the Liberal policy which came in their wake. The reversal of the Partition of Bengal did not put India back into the position before the Partition. The Swadeshi movement became a permanent movement, and in so far as it aimed at a resuscitation of India's manufactures and industries, claimed the support of every patriotic Indian. But it was its political and anti-British form that allied itself with anarchical crime. Unfortunately the "invidious and unjust laws" (as Lord Hardinge called them) against Indians in South Africa, and to a smaller extent in other Dominions of the British Empire, lent great support to the anti-British feeling in India. The system of Indentures, under which Indian labourers were sent to Natal and elsewhere, was subjected to severe criticism. It was abolished for Natal in 1911, and was totally abolished as a system of labour emigration within six years. But the end of the indenture system did not mean the end of the friction between the South Africans and the Indians settled in that Dominion. For years a Passive Resistance campaign had been waged under the lead of Mr. Gandhi, and in spite of temporary settlements the friction and difficulties still continued, and greatly helped the anti-British movement in India. The Muslims found additional grievances in England's attitude in favour of the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. Italy, by an unprovoked war (1911-12) deprived Turkey of Tripoli, and the Balkan League of the smaller Powers in South-Eastern Europe, in the Balkan War (1912-13), deprived Turkey of Albania, Epirus, Macedonia, and Western Thrace. Mr. Muhammad Ali (1878-1931) and his brother Mr. Shaukat Ali (1873-1938) won great popularity by their newspaper enterprise during the Balkan War and the relief which they organised under the Red Crescent organisation. Hindu sympathy with Muslims on this occasion, on the one hand, and Muslim bitterness against Europe, on the other hand, created a temporary *rapprochement* between the two communities.

FEELING DURING THE GREAT WAR

The outbreak of the Great War (1914-18) saw India quiescent under the calm and sympathetic rule of Lord Hardinge. But as it progressed, a process of disillusionment began. Two great Moderate leaders—Mr. G. K. Gokhale (1866-1915) and Sir Phirozshah Mehta (1845-1915) died in 1915. The one had made his mark as a non-official member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and the other in the civic life of Bombay. Municipal influence was now becoming a great factor in national development, and the municipalities, great and small, began to reflect the opinions of political India. With the passing of these men there was a strong movement to the left in Indian politics. The Home Rule agitation took a specially bold tone. Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920), with his English weekly *The Mahratta* and his Marathi paper *The Kesari*, obtained great influence over the masses in Western India, and became the leader of the Congress. The Hindu-Muslim understanding was cemented by the meeting of the Congress and the Muslim League in Lucknow in 1916. The word "self-determination" which was used by the Allies as a battle-cry during the Great War, was caught up in India and used against the Government. Mrs. Besant, who organised a Home Rule League, and was for a time (1917) interned as a war measure, became on account of that internment so popular that she was elected to preside over the Congress of 1917.

MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORMS

There was intense excitement in India in 1917. British statesmen in England, faced with the prospect of a prolongation of the Great War, were gathering up all the resources, moral and material, of the Empire in aid of the great struggle. The new Secretary of State, Mr. E. S. Montagu, announced (August 1917) the goal of British policy to be "the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." The self-governing Dominions of the Empire had already, by the logic of events, been raised to the position of partnership in the Imperial Conference and the Imperial War Cabinet in the spring of 1917. India participated on both these bodies, but on account of her constitution she could not be represented, like the Dominions, by an elected Prime Minister representing her own people. This was a weakness, not only for India but for the Empire itself, into whose service India's resources in men and money had been drawn to a larger extent than in the case of the Dominions. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford (then Viceroy) worked out a scheme of political reform to set India on the way of self-government. The psychological difficulties were many, both in India and in England. In surmounting them they hit upon the idea of the "Dyarchy." The functions of government in the Provinces were divided into two classes. One class—the transferred subjects—were transferred for administration to Ministers chosen from among the elected representatives of the Legislative Council, and subject to dismissal on an adverse vote in the Council. The other class—the reserved subjects—were retained for administration by members of the Executive Councils—who were not elected by the people and who were responsible only to the Governor. The scheme was intended to be a half-way house to self-government, to be revised after a trial of ten years. It was passed by Parliament in 1919. Henceforth the principle of autocracy was abandoned, as His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught said in inaugurating the Indian Legislative Assembly in February 1921, in the government of India. Though responsibility to the people was not introduced into the Central Government, that Government was to be influenced to a greater and greater degree by the views of the Indian Legislature.

EVENTS WITHOUT AND WITHIN INDIA: HOW THE REFORMS BROKE DOWN

The scheme was a compromise and an experiment. Along with the scheme for liberalising the administration in India, a new status was accorded to India in international relations. She signed the Peace Treaty of Versailles like any of the self-governing Dominions, and she became one of the original members of the League of Nations, an organisation comprising most of the independent nations of the world. But her Government still remained a subordinate Government under the orders of the British Government at Westminster. When such a subordinate status was definitely negatived for the Dominions in 1926, India's relative position within the Empire became worse instead of better. This was felt as a grievance, and it was accentuated by the inferior position accorded to Indians in Kenya, which was not even a Dominion. Meanwhile the affairs in India itself produced the wildest excitement. The Rowlatt Acts of 1919 set up special machinery to deal with revolutionary crime, and were much resented. The peace terms offered by the Allies to Turkey, which destroyed the Turkish Empire and threatened the Khilafat of the Turkish Sultan, caused the organisation of the Khilafat Movement (1919) under Maulanas Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali. This movement joined hands with the Congress movement in its opposition to Government and continued to work as an auxiliary of the Congress after the Khilafat was abolished by the Turks themselves in March 1924. In the Congress camp the ascendancy of Mr. Gandhi gave a new form to the anti-Government movement. The disorders in the Panjab, the declaration of martial law, and the tragedy of Jalianwala Bagh in Amritsar (April 1919), where the casualties in killed and wounded exceeded 1600 of the unarmed population, made the rupture between the people and the Government complete.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S PRINCIPLES

Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (Mahatma Gandhi) (born 1869) has introduced new ideas into Indian politics, which he tries to connect with his religious, social, and economic ideas. He disapproves of violence and underground plots, but preaches and works vigorously for active and open resistance where such resistance is necessary. For this purpose he believes in a strong and well-disciplined organisation, and his experience in South Africa in the Passive Resistance movement before the Great War has enabled him to acquire a great hold on the people. He also believes in fasting, prayer, and an ascetic life as a means of attaining not only personal but political emancipation. He owed his start in life in South Africa to Muslim merchants, and has been one of the foremost in championing the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. It was mainly his influence that brought about the coalescence of the Congress and the Khilafat movements, including in the former the Arya Samaj leaders, and in the latter such leading *Ulama* as Maulana Abdul Bari. In his Ashram (originally at Ahmadabad and now at Wardha in the Central Provinces) he allows free access to the Depressed Classes, though his movement as a whole has not succeeded in satisfying the Depressed Classes on the subject of temple entry. His economic ideas insist on the Charkha or the hand-worked spinning-wheel as an instrument of India's emancipation from economic exploitation by western nations. He has frequently suffered imprisonment unflinchingly, and he expects his followers to cast out fear in working for their ends. His movements for mass civil disobedience and boycott, though they have led to sanguinary riots, are based on the supposition of non-violence.

PHASES OF NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT AND ITS REACTIONS

The Non-cooperation Movement has had various phases and stages at different times. The disillusionment following the joint working of the civil disobedience movement, the Khilafat movement, and the Hijrat movement, (1920-22) led to a greater rupture between Hindus and Muslims than ever before. The Moplah rising of August 1921 and the Akali movement among the Sikhs of the Panjab in 1922 were sectional movements and added to the general disorder. The Akalis, however, forced the question of the administration of their Gurdwaras (temples) on public attention and compelled a statutory reform which may be of considerable significance in their cultural history. The Swaraj party of Mr. Chit Ranjan Das (died June 1925) and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru (died 1931, decided (1923) to modify their non-cooperation programme so far as to enter the Councils and organise opposition from within. A section of them—the Responsivists—even took offices under the Government. But the friction and political agitation continued, and was intensified on the announcement (November 1927) of the personnel of Sir John Simon's Commission, which excluded all Indians. The Commission toured India during two cold weathers, but were boycotted by the Swaraj Party, which now ruled the Congress. The Swarajists prepared a Constitution embodied in the Nehru Report (called after Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, son of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru), in consultation with all parties which agreed to work together in this matter. The fundamental basis was full Dominion Status, as understood, for example, in the case of Canada or South Africa. The Congress of 1928 gave the British Parliament a year within which to accept the constitution of the Nehru Report, failing which independence was proclaimed in 1929. The proclamation, in the nature of things, remained a paper resolution.

SIMON REPORT, ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE, AND THE IDEAS NOW IN THE FIELD

The political atmosphere after this was charged with high passions. Mr. Gandhi's new campaign of mass civil disobedience in the spring of 1930 was directed mainly against the Salt Act, and led to many disorders and clashes with the police. Mr. Gandhi was again incarcerated, and gradually thousands of Congress men and women found themselves in jail. Sir John Simon's Report, published in June 1930, was coldly received in India. The first Round Table Conference, which met in London from the 12th November 1930 to the 19th January 1931, was boycotted by the Gongress Party, but was attended by all the other interests represented in the Legislatures, including women delegates and the Ruling Princes or representatives of the Ruling Princes. The Government Despatch on the Simon Commission's Report dated 20th September 1930, advised the enactment of the "first but definite impress of Dominion Status" for India. This first Round Table Conference proposed certain outlines based on four principles: (1) a federation of all India including Indian States; (2) complete autonomy and responsible government for each Province, subject, to safeguards; (3) some responsibility in the Central Government; and (4) safeguards and reservations, about minorities, finance, British trade, defence, and foreign relations. No details could be worked out or agreed upon. The work was left at that stage, to be completed by other Conferences. The second and third Round Table Conferences will be referred to in the next chapter. Mr. Gandhi was released on the 26th January 1931, and most of the political prisoners shortly afterwards. By an agreement between the Viceroy (Lord Irwin, now Lord Halifax) and Mr. Gandhi, civil disobedience was called off on the one hand and special emergency Ordinances withdrawn on the other. It would seem that the principle of Dominion Status was vaguely accepted both in Great Britain (in spite of protests in Parliament in 1929) and by all parties except the Congress in India, but its attainment was not to be immediate but gradual.

QUICKENING UNDER WESTERN INFLUENCE IN OTHER CULTURAL FIELDS THAN POLITICS

We have devoted rather more space than in previous chapters to political ideas, because they engross the greater part of the cultural consciousness of the people in India at the present time. But it must not be supposed that India's cultural progress has been arrested in other directions. Indeed the political awakening has led to a quickening of the pace in economics and industries, social life, education, art, science, and literature. Superficial observers have failed to note this. Even the late Mr. William Archer,* whose opinion as an eminent dramatic critic and expounder of Ibsen, carries weight in a cultural history, failed to understand modern India. Though in favour of the "complete enfranchisement of a united India," he was yet troubled with the "impatience on the part of the half-Europeanised Indian agitator, which" (he said) "I regard as the gravest danger India has to face." Such English criticism is a real danger, as it scorns the real organising power which came with European influence in India, and drives it into dependence upon the very conservatism and ignorance which it deplores. Perhaps a truer appreciation of the growing national unity is contained in Lord Irwin's speech at the Chelmsford Club in Delhi, on the 26th March 1931, when

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*William Archer: *India and the Future*, London, 1917.

he said: "Beneath all distinctions of community, class, and social circumstances, there is a growing intellectual consciousness—or, more truly, self-consciousness—which is very closely akin to what we call Nationalism."

ECONOMIC CAUSES BEHIND POLITICAL DISCONTENT

A great part of the political discontent in India is certainly due to economic causes. The old economic system—the self-sufficing village, immobile labour, hand industries, and court encouragement of the fine art—is gone beyond recall; and the new industrial system has not yet had time to adjust itself to the social and cultural environment of India. Her political subjection to a powerful industrial and commercial nation has also put her financial policy into hands at which other interests than her own have demanded predominant consideration. The whole of the upper structure of government, trade and commerce, banking, shipping, engineering, technical skill, the learned professions, and the fighting services, rests upon men who spend some part of their earnings from India outside the country during the best years of their lives and all their earnings outside the country during the later years of their lives. Government and railway stores, machinery, motor cars and other expensive equipment are made not in India, but outside India, and in paying for them India sends out enormous sums of money. There is thus a very large drain of capital from the country. It is not temporary, but steady and permanent, as long as present conditions continue.

HANDICAP EVEN IN PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS: INVASION OF HER MARKETS

The traditional methods of Indian agriculture and the stereotyped methods of Indian education put India at a disadvantage even in the production of raw materials. In spite of the nursing of the cooperative credit movement since 1904, the movement still touches only the fringe of rural credit. Agriculture is on the whole starved both of capital and enterprise. The Agricultural Research Institute, established at Pusa in 1904 and moved to New Delhi in 1936, has done fine work, but its results have not yet reached directly the mass of agriculturists. India can scarcely produce enough sugar for her own needs. Her raw cotton fetches lower prices in foreign markets than superior varieties produced under improved conditions. Her indigo has been driven out by the synthetic products of highly educated chemists of other countries. Her markets are invaded and held by foreign countries in textiles, hardware, machinery, electric goods, railway material, motor cars and bicycles, and most of the expensive modern articles of merchandise. Until recently she was precluded from framing a tariff for herself. Then, under the policy of discriminating protection, her tariff was governed by the need for the agreement of the Government of India (which is predominantly British) with the elected Legislature. Now questions of the extent of protection required by particular industries and for particular periods are referred to a specially constituted Tariff Board.

GOVERNMENT MEASURES FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Sir Thomas Holland's Industrial Commission, which reported in 1918, drew up a comprehensive scheme of industrialisation, including industrial education, but it cannot truthfully be said that its recommendations have been implemented with any remarkable success. Government can do much to encourage home industries, but there are limitations to its effective action. In the case of the Government of India—subordinate in its relations to Whitehall, and in itself predominantly British, and therefore suspect, or at least impotent, in its dealings with matters impinging upon the variety of social ideas or habits and customs and traditions of work in the country—the limitations are greater than in the case of national governments. Its powers can chiefly be exercised in three ways: through its control of currency, through its policy of taxation, and through its factory and industrial legislation. The currency policy of the Government of India has been subjected to much criticism. But if we make allowance for its position as a subordinate government, we shall find that it has acted according to its lights in working for the interests committed to its charge. In the matter of taxation, its external policy—that which affects imports and exports by means of tariffs—has recently come more and more into line with Indian opinion. Since the policy of discriminative protection was adopted and a Tariff Board was instituted (1923), a number of tariff enquiries have been carried out. The steel industry and the sugar industry enjoy a large measure of protection. The cotton industry has also been favoured in recent years, and the Budget of 1931 contained cotton duties against which Lancashire raised its unavailing protest. In internal taxation the distribution and incidence cannot yet be considered satisfactory. The Taxation Enquiry Committee was appointed in 1924 "to examine the manner in which the burden of taxation is distributed...between the different classes of the population and to consider whether the whole scheme of taxation—Central, Provincial, and Local—is equitable, and in accordance with economic principles." This was a task of tremendous magnitude. It could not be adequately carried out, as land revenue systems were excluded from its examination, except as incidental to general conditions. Its report, issued in 1926, pointed out a tendency to shift the burden of taxation from the richer to the general population. The taxation of the poorer classes, it would seem, had risen above the rise in prices. The more recent heightening of tariffs, even though luxuries are specially heavily taxed, does not quite redress the balance, as indirect taxation of articles of general consumption falls more heavily in proportion on the poor than on the rich. On the other hand, the creation of autonomous and responsible Governments in the Provinces under the Constitution of 1935 has raised new issues in the matter of internal taxation, which the Provincial Governments are taking up in the spheres within their competence, especially in regard to land.

LABOUR LEGISLATION

Factory and industrial legislation has been fairly active during recent years, and has been specially stimulated by the efforts of the International Labour Office in Geneva, attached to the League of Nations. India is internationally recognised as one of the eight countries of chief industrial importance in the world, and this recognition led to the welcome election of Sir Atul Chatterji—

then (1933) India's High Commissioner in London—as President of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office. She exports over eightyfive crores of rupees worth of manufactured articles, and about eighteen millions of her population are employed in industries, transport, and mining. The problem of converting this great mass of ill-educated, inefficient, and unspecialised workers into a skilled army of modern labour remains to be faced. It is being tackled in many directions. The Factories Act of 1922 further amended by the Factories Act of 1934, raised the minimum age of children for employment, from nine to twelve, and the age for full-time work from fourteen to fifteen. It abolished night work for women. It shortened the maximum working day to eleven hours and working week to sixty hours. The tendency at present is for a steady increase in the employment of women in factories. Under the Mines Act of 1923 as amended by the Act of 1935, children under thirteen years of age cannot be employed or allowed to be present below ground, and the normal working week is limited to fifty-four hours above ground, with a weekly day of rest. Below ground, the maximum is nine hours a day, with a weekly day of rest. Precautions have been taken against industrial accidents by fencing machinery and in other ways in the working of factories, but the accidents are still numerous, if not increasing, and the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 as amended in 1937 provides some monetary compensation to injured workmen or to the families of workmen who are killed. The organisation of Trade Unions began during the War, and their recognition in law and their registration was provided for under the Trade-Union Act 1926, which came into force from June 1927.

WHITLEY COMMISSION ON LABOUR REFORM

The Royal Commission on Indian Labour, presided over by Mr. J. H. Whitley, formerly Speaker of the British House of Commons, is an important document, and may have far-reaching consequences on the future history of Labour in India. Its report was issued early in July 1931. It surveys the whole field of labour—

in factories, tea and other plantations, on railways, and in mines—and makes drastic recommendations. It calls pointed attention to some glaring defects in the position of labour, and condemns the Sardār system, perhaps too sweepingly. It finds that ordinarily two-thirds of the workers in industrial centres are in debt to the extent of more than three months' wages at usurious rates of interest, and recommends the payment of weekly instead of monthly wages. It is in favour of further limitations of the hours of work; a stricter regulation of women's and children's labour; a better provision for the health, housing, and education of industrial labour; an extension of the principle of pecuniary compensation to workmen for industrial accidents; a further organisation of Trade Unionism; and the building up of machinery for the joint settlement of industrial disputes between employers and employed. With regard to inefficiency, while it recognises the inefficiency of labour, it also refers to the inefficiency of capital. Mr. Whitley was the originator of the Joint Industrial Councils in England in 1916. These are standing joint bodies, consisting of representatives of employers and employed, and working in continuous consultation between capital and labour. They have done good work in some industries in England, but have failed in others. Though the recommendations for India are not based entirely on English experience but have the backing of investigation on the spot, the Commission's Report is undoubtedly influenced by English conditions. No one can doubt the urgent need in India of an improvement in the social and economic condition of workers, in their educational and cultural standards, and in technical skill and efficiency. Such improvement has the first claim on the attention of any self-respecting nation. But misgivings will arise in many minds whether the remedies of the West can (in the words of Sir Victor Sassoon, one of the Commissioners) "be fitted ready-made to India." By the introduction of foreign elements of controversy we do not wish to add to the already numerous causes of division which divide the people of India.

EFFORTS OUTSIDE STATE ACTION; WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS: SOCIAL SERVICE; UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG THE EDUCATED CLASSES

But the effective movements for India's industrial and social progress will come from India's own efforts, individual and collective. It is good that the Swadeshi movement has produced a sentiment in favour of home industries. But sentiment must be backed with practical and cultural work. If such movements are linked on with politics, they will have to discard the advocacy of primitive and out-of-date methods, to enable India to compete on even terms with the rest of the world. In education and social life the traditional will have to give way to the progressive. The question of untouchables, now attracting increased attention, will have to be solved, until it ceases to exist. The communal bias is found even in Trade Unions; it will have to be removed not only from industrial organisations, but from all public life. The welfare work and social services, which have become a part of the best organised industrial concerns and public societies, must be developed to the full, in order to nullify the ugliest features of industrial organisation. The women's movement, which is now making good headway, will have to permeate all departments of life—education, health, sanitation, housing, and home life in town and country. It is only through the women that social reform can be effective. The example of the Seva Sadan, Gamdevi, Bombay, is instructive. It was founded in 1908 by the efforts of B. M. Malabari and Dayaram Gidumal. It looks after the medical, sanitary, and social needs of women workers. It is an endowed institution, but wants energetic and devoted workers. The problem of poverty is not going to be solved by efforts in one or two directions. The attack will have to be from all sides. The pinch of unemployment which is reaching the educated classes can only be satisfactorily removed by the concentration of nation-wide forces for the removal of nation-wide evils.

JAMSHEDJI TATA AND THE ROMANCE OF BIG INDUSTRIES: BANGALORE INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE, JAMSHEDPUR, AND THE STEEL WORKS

Before leaving the subject of industrial development a few words may be said about a captain of industry, whose shrewdness and enterprise have transformed the whole industrial outlook of India. Mr. Jamshedji Nusserwanji Tata (1839-1904) laid the foundations of three movements, which, under the fostering care of his sons and successors, are pointing the way to large-scale modern industries. One was the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, which began its work in 1911. The conception and original benefaction were due to the Tatas, but it is being munificently subsidised by the Government of India and the Mysore Government. It was intended to be an all-India post-graduate University of Research, as its earlier name implied. Its departments of General and Applied Chemistry, Organic Chemistry and Electro-technology maintain a very high standard of research with the practical aim of assisting industries. The second great scheme of Mr. Tata was the establishment of the large-scale modern iron and steel industry in India. After much prospecting, and with the advice of the most competent experts from Europe and America, the site for the works was fixed at Sakchi, an insignificant village in the south of Chhota Nagpur, since become a great industrial town and named Jamshedpur in 1919 in honour of Mr. Jamshedji Tata. The site was selected with reference to a combination of four requirements: (1) nearness to rich iron ore; (2) nearness to a coal field whose coal was easily convertible into coke, *i.e.* could easily be stripped of its bitumen, sulphur, and volatile matter; (3) nearness to limestone, so necessary for the fusion of the metal; (4) easy railway transport and access to a big port. These conditions were fulfilled in the tract where the great Iron and Steel Works are situated. Work was started with iron-making in 1911. During the Great War, Government drew on it for 1500 miles of rails and other material for the Eastern campaigns. Numerous subsidiary industries have grown up since, including the manufacture of agricultural implements, jute machinery, enamelled utensils, and parts of railway engines. The population of Jamshedpur is close on a lakh. During the ten years between the census of 1921 and 1931 the increase in its population was over 47 per cent, from 57,00 to 84,000. And with it all, it is a modern town, well planned, well equipped, with the latest sanitation, electric light, and all the amenities for a rapidly growing industrial population, including hospitals and schools. The Tata Company constructed it at a cost of over a crore of rupees, and four lakhs of rupees are spent on its maintenance annually by that company and its subsidiary companies, with the result that its inhabitants pay no municipal rates whatever.

HYDRO-ELECTRIC SCHEME: WORKERS' WELFARE: CHARITY

The third great scheme was for the generation of hydro-electric power from artificial reservoirs formed at the top of the Western Ghats for the use of the industries of Bombay City and its neighbourhood. The Tata Hydro-Electric Supply Company was launched in 1910, six years after the death of its originator, and within five years it was in a position to supply cheap and smokeless electric power for one-third of all the Mills in Bombay. The project continues to expand, and was followed by other big hydro-electric schemes in India. The capital involved in these ventures runs to gigantic figures, and a great part of it was drawn from India itself. The capital of the Steel Company is over 10½ crores, and that of the Hydro-Electric Company and two allied companies over fourteen crores. With all this vast organisation of capital and industry, the welfare of the workers has been kept steadily in view. And the Tatas have not been oblivious of charity. But they preferred constructive philanthropy, which lifts up the best and most gifted for the service of the country, to "that patch-work philanthropy which clothes the ragged, feeds the poor, and heals the sick and halt." It may be said that the gospel of efficiency may be overdone, and that there is a danger lurking beneath the aggregation of vast masses of capital in a few hands, especially where the directive skill and energy have to be imported from outside. But in these matters the claims of ethics, commonsense, patriotism, and business and industrial efficiency are not irreconcilable, and in human affairs middle courses honestly pursued lead to the best results.

FRESH DEFINITION OF STATE EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Turning to education during the period, we find many interesting developments. As far as the Government was concerned, the pace was set by the King-Emperor George V's speech at Calcutta in reply to the Calcutta University's Address on the 6th January 1912. He said:—

"It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life. And it is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge, with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled, and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart."

This was followed by the Government of India Resolutions of the 21st February and the 24th April 1913, surveying the educational field and defining the educational policy in the light of the principles laid down by His Majesty. Education was to be a social force; hygiene, physical training, and the formation of character were to be in the forefront of the education picture; hostels and medical inspection were to be popularised; conferences and consultations between teachers, enducationists, and public men were to be stimulated; the importance of religious and moral education was to be recognised; a programme of expansion was to be laid down, the State spending freely in primary education and encouraging private effort in secondary education; technical, commercial, and industrial education were to claim increased attention; and new ideas were to be allowed free scope in University organisation, teaching, and ideals, with a special view to developing new residential and teaching universities, research work, and extension lectures to bring the universities more into touch with general life.

CAUSES OF FAILURE IN SPITE OF GREATLY INCREASED EXPENDITURE

This was a truly ambitious programme, and if its success had depended only on the funds spent on it, it should have been phenomenally successful. The expenditure from public funds (local, provincial and Imperial) on education in 1905 was less than 3½ crores of rupees.

It rose in 25 years to over 16 crores of rupees in 1930, but has shown no elasticity since. But education depends on many factors besides funds. It requires a highly cultured teaching staff devoted to its ideals and identified with the culture, traditions and future hopes of the country co-operation and confidence between the different sections of the community *inter se* and with the Government which controls the funds and the machinery of the State; the dovetailing of its functions with the cultural and iudustrial life around; and a national policy co-ordinating mass education with the apex of the educational structure in universities and specialised and professional institutions. Mr. Mayhew who published in 1926 a study of British educational policy and its bearing on national life and problems in India to-day, found cultural suspicion and discontent a very active and vital force, and most of us will agree that the hard, clear-cut formulæ devised by the experience of the west are not likely to carry us far in India. The importance of women and the home seems to be ignored in our education. The communal antagonisms, instead of being healed, are being accentuated, and this tendency got further support, atleast in northern India, by the transfer of education to popularly elected ministers under the Reforms of 1919, and the introduction of frankly majority Governments under the present constitution. The transfer of power and policy to responsible provincial Governments under the Constitution of 1935 gives communal majorities ample scope, but the views of communal minorities are not likely to get a hearing, and any synthesis likely to bring out harmonious unity seems to be as far off as ever. The Non-Cooperation movement of 1920-22 set back State education, without substituting an effective system of national education, and the influenza epidemic of 1918-1919 with its death roll of 5 millions had already checked the numerical growth of pupils. The political unsettlement of 1930-1 did not help matters.The Great War (1914-18) and the financial stringency since have also stopped a number of useful reforms. Even though we are spending comparatively large sums on education, Sir Phillip Hartog's Auxiliary Committee on Education (1929) found much waste and ineffectiveness, and we must recognise the justice of its criticisms.

NON-OFFICIAL EFFORTS, AND MASS EDUCATION

But there is much encouragement to be derived from the general awakening which is noticeable in Indian public opinion in regard to education. The education of girls is still very backward: but the increase from 400,000 girl pupils in 1900 to 1,900,000 in 1929 showed encouraging progress. Adult education is showing some signs of improvement in Madras, Bengal, and Bombay, though the official figures are probably better than the real facts warrant. The present writer has pointed out elsewhere* some of the difficulties of adults education in India. Muslim education is also picking up, but less in the higher and technical branches than in the lower. As regards mass education we may take as our starting point Mr. Gokhale's Resolution of the 18th March 1910 in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, "that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country, and that a Commission be appointed to frame definite proposals." Though defeated then, he introduced an unsuccessful bill with that object in 1911. He did not live to see even a beginning of compulsory education. But the impulse remained, and a number of enabling Acts were passed in the Provinces between 1918 and 1920, to try compulsory education in selected areas. Very little actual result was reaped from them, partly owing to economic distress, partly owing to the non-cooperation movement, and partly also because the idea had not yet taken root in the Indian mind, and local enabling Acts are no substitute for a national policy. There has, however, been a steady increase recently in the number of schools and scholars, though the numbers attaining to anything but the lowest elementary standards are small, and the lapses into illiteracy are proportionately heavy.† The new responsible Provincial

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*See the *Bulletin of the World Association for Adult Education* No. 47, February 1931.

†See the present writer's criticisms in *The Nineteenth Century* December, 1928.

Governments are moving in the direction of universal compulsory education.

NEW UNIVERSITIES

In the case of the Universities the pace of development has been rapid and almost revolutionary. We have already noticed the five universities established during the fiftynine years between 1857 and 1916. During the thirteen years from 1916 to 1929, as many as thirteen new universities were incorporated, bringing up the total number to eighteen. They have brought into being new types of structure, new methods of work, and new ideas of education. The Benares Hindu University (1916) and the Aligarh Muslim University (1920) are frankly denominational and religious universities. Perhaps they may more truly be described as communal universities, as they have done nothing systematic to train up religious teachers and develop modern schools of religious thought. The Mysore University (1916) and the Osmania University in Hyderabad, Deccan, (1919) are statutory universities in two of the biggest States of India, the one Hindu and the other Muslim. The Osmania University has adopted a vernacular (*viz.*, Urdu) as the medium of instruction, while the other universities, even where they encourage and recognise the various vernaculars, use English mainly as the medium of instruction. It is a question how far the growth of vernacular universities will hamper the unification of India, when more than a dozen vernaculars will lay claim to exclusive spheres. The position would be altered if one vernacular (say Hindustani standardised to national needs) were accepted for all India, but that is not yet practical politics. Patna (1917) and Dacca (1920) are universities of the residential and teaching type, and belong to the circle of ideas connected with Sir Michael Sadler's Calcutta University Commission which was appointed in 1917 and reported in 1919. That Commission was appointed definitely for the reform of the Calcutta University, and it succeeded in carving out of the old field of operations of the Calcutta University the new type of Dacca, a unitary teaching university, which was to be the type for future universities. Its recommendations, however, regarding the creation of Intermediate Colleges, with a separate Intermediate Board, were taken up more outside Calcutta than under the Calcutta University. An experience of the working of Intermediate Colleges, however, has not proved that the recomendations were really well-suited to Indian conditions. The Calcutta University, under the vigorous guidance of Sir Ashutosh Mukerji (1864-1924) continued to develop on its own lines. Its post-graduate department, its introduction of new branches of study, its Chairs of Sanskrit and of Islamic Culture, its recognition of the vernaculars and general cultural subjects, and its acquisition of the old *Calcutta Review* as a University organ, place it on a pedestal all its own. The creation of unitary universities in Rangoon (1920), Lucknow (1920), Delhi (1922) and Nagpur (1923) was a recognition of provincial and local traditions, while that of the Agra University (1927) was intended to relieve the old Allahabad University of its far-flung Mufassal jurisdiction. The Andhra University at Bezwada (1926) is frankly intended to foster Telugu culture. The other branches of Dravidian culture (Tamil and Malayalam) are held in view by the youngest university of all, the Annamalai University, which started work in 1929. It is located in Chidambaram, (near Porto Novo, South Arcot District), one of the great centres of the Shaiva cult. It has no degress in Law and welcomes English teachers and English influence. Its only three Faculties are Arts, Science and Oriental Learning. Unlike the other universities established by legislation, its creation is due to the enthusiasm of a single benefactor, Raja Sir S. R. M. Annamalai Chettiar, whose name it bears. He started the endowment fund with a contribution of twenty lakhs, to which the Government added an equal sum. The Universities now work on a very variegated plan, and the Inter-University Board, started in 1926, which seeks to promote consultation between them, has an important as well as necessary part to fill in our higher education.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS FOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

Besides these officially recognised universities, there are other bodies which bear the names of universities, but whose curricula, methods and ideas do not fit in with those of the recognised institutions. Among the "national" universities may be mentioned the one originally started in Aligarh in opposition to the statutory Muslim University in non-cooperation days, and since removed to Delhi, (the Jami'a Milliya). There has also been one at Ahmedabad under the ægis of Mr. Gandhi. Professor Karve's Institution in Poona, called the Indian Women's University, aims at Government recognition but has not yet reached the standard demanded by Government. Of a wholly different character are the Research Institutes, most of them privately endowed but aided by the State, which carry out research of a highly technical character. Among institutions of that kind directly connected with the State, may be mentioned the Pusa Agricultural Institute, now of world-wide fame, and moved up to Delhi; the Dehra Dun Forestry Research Institute, with its economic, silvicultural, chemical, botanical and entomological branches; the Indian Research Fund Association for Medical Research; and the Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying at Bangalore. Of more independent institutions we may mention the Institute of Science at Bangalore, and Sir Jagdish Chunder Bose's Research Institute at Calcutta, which deal with physical science; the Indian Chemical Society, Calcutta, with Branches in Bombay, Madras and Lahore; the Bhandarkar Institute in Poona and the Dar-ul-Musannifin in Azamgarh, which pursue Oriental research, Indian and Islamic respectively. Nor must we omit to mention the Tibbia and Ayurvedic College and Research Institute founded in Delhi under the inspiration of the late Haziq-ul-mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan (*obit* 1928), where research by modern methods is bringing our older systems of medicine into line with the best modern knowledge.

GREAT SCIENTISTS AND MATHEMATICIANS

There has been a remarkable growth in recent years in the study of modern science and in original scientific research in India. Sir Jagdish Chunder Bose (1858-1937) earned world-wide fame by his studies of electrical response in plants, and his daring speculations about the relations of the plant and animal worlds. He was the first

Indian to be elected Fellow of the Royal Society in England. He dedicated the Bose Research Institute in Calcutta to the nation in 1917. Sir Prafulla Chunder Ray (born 1861), Senior Professor of the College of Science, Calcutta, is not only a renowned chemist, but a man of wide general culture. Professor C. V. Raman, of the Calcutta University (born in Madras in 1888) won the Nobel Prize in Physics (1930) for his work on the scattering of light and discovery of what has been called the "Raman Effect" after him. There is an Annual Science Congress now held in India, of which he was President in 1928. A remarkable Mathematician was produced by Southern India in the person of Srinivasa Ramanujan (1887-1920), whose premature death at the early age of 33 cut short a most promising career.

NEW SCHOOL OF PAINTING

In art, also, there is re-vivified activity. The old schools of Mughal painting, and what have been called the Rajput and the Kangra schools, seemed to have died out, and the nineteenth century produced an effort of feeble and mostly imitative work. Early in the twentieth century, however, the brothers Abanindro Nath and Gogonendra Nath Tagore applied their talents to the revival of the Indian tradition with new imaginative ideals. Mr. E. B. Havell, who was then Principal of the School of Art in Calcutta, was in complete sympathy with these ideals, and by his own writings encouraged the new School of Oriental Art. In drawing and colour schemes a certain amount of Japanese influence is visible in their work. But they draw their inspiration from Indian motifs, and they have produced work of power and originality. Their influence has extended to Lucknow, Lahore and Southern India. Among other notable names in the movement may be mentioned three Calcutta artists, Nando Lal Bose, Asit Kumar Haldar and Surendra Nath Ganguly; Ishwari Parshad, of Patna; Inayatullah, of Kasur (Punjab); and K. Venkatappa, of Mysore. A spiritual descendant of the Mughal school will be found in Abdur Rahmān Chagtai, an artist whose illustrations of the Urdu poet Ghālib show both the passion of Romanticism and the reserve of Classicism. The art critic Dr. James Cousins hails his work with enthusiasm and the poet Iqbal calls his art creative, going beyond and in some ways defiant of Life and Nature. On the Bombay side Mr. Rahamin Samuel has worked on different lines. Under the patronage of the Gaikwar of Baroda, whose portrait by him was exhibited in the Royal Academy of London in 1910, he has done some fine work both in portraiture and mural decoration. The Bombay School of Art, under Mr. Gladstone Solomon, has devoted much attention to mural painting and architecture. Numerous picture Exhibitions, special and general, are held at frequent intervals all over the country. Though their average standard is not high, they attest the awakening of public interest in the pictorial arts.

ARCHITECTURE: ADVANCE UNSATISFACTORY

In architecture the advance has been less satisfactory, from the point of view of the development of Indian taste and talent. Many notable Palaces in Indian States and public buildings in British India have been erected in the last half century, and though we have left behind for ever the barrack-room style of the old Public Works Department, we have not yet reached any definite standards or styles of architecture. Within this century three great openings arose: (1) in the Victoria Memorial at Calcutta; (2) in the building of the State buildings in New Delhi; and (3) in the numerous and expensive Council Chambers that have been built in the Provinces. Unfortunately in all these cases, Indian culture and talent have had very limited scope. The Victoria Memorial was opened in December 1921. There is great beauty in the design, but in the words of Lord Curzon, its progenitor, it is "in the Italian Renaissance style with some Oriental features."* New Delhi may be described in similar compromise terms, as also most of the Provincial Council Chambers. India House in London, opened in 1930, was designed by one of the British architects of New Delhi, and does not even pretend, except in its interior decorations, to have any Oriental features of architecture. The symbolic plaques

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*Lord Curzon's *British Government in India*, London, 1925, vol. I, p. 177.

outside represent so many different elements that their combination seems strange and ill-assorted if not grotesque. According to Mr. E. B. Havell, a great deal of latent architectural talent exists in India. When sums amounting to many crores of Indian money were being spent, all friends of Indian art and talent must feel disappointed that this stream of colossal expenditure did not go to the revival of Indian traditions, or even to the building up of a new great tradition. The Mughals did evolve a magnificent style and school of architecture. The British in India are still building without a central artistic plan or purpose, and are content to toy with "Italian Renaissance, with some Oriental features."

TENDENCIES IN LITERATURE

In Literature the chief points to notice are: that Bengali, thanks to the genius of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, has attained to the dignity of a world literature; that the Bengali drama continues to advance as a provincial instrument of Bengali culture, although (apart from Tagore) it has exercised no all-India influence; that Hindustani (in a form nearer to Hindi than to Urdu) as being the language most used in the recent proceedings of Congress, is gradually winning its way as an all-India language; that Urdu prose is now taking a wide sweep, and that Urdu poetry is turning more and more to national subjects; that the other vernaculars, though showing great development and vitality, are not instruments of all-India culture; and that English still holds the field as the language of the most effective and most creative all-India thought. Perhaps the English poems of Rabindranath Tagore and the English poems of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu stand more to the western world for Indian poetry than any other literature of modern India.

TAGORE: BENGALI DRAMA: NAZR-UL-ISLAM

So much has been written about Rabindranath Tagore (born 1861) and his works are so accessible in English and partly in Urdu that it is only necessary here to appraise his influence in general terms. His personality is one of the striking factors in Indian culture at the present day. His religious lyrics are naturally expressed in Hindu terms, but their poetic beauty and mystical appeal are universal. His ode to Urvashi is an ode to Beauty,—"the unsurpassed in loveliness," and yet the "cruel, deaf Urvashi," sowing tears in her wake. His English Essays and Lectures are a fine exposition of his philosophy of life and thought. Though his vision of Indian history ignores the valuable contributions made by the Muslims and the British to Indian culture, his scheme of Vishwa Bharati (or World University) recognises these contributions, and also lays a much-needed stress on the artistic side of culture. His drama is too ethereal, too symbolic, and too poetic for the every-day stage. The practical dramatist of the Bengali stage in the 20th century has been Dwijendra Lal Ray (1860-1913). He began writing plays in 1895, but his triumphs date from the time when he began to expound nationalism and Swadeshi. In plays like *Rāna Pratāp*, *Nūr Jahān*, and *Mewār Patan*, he goes back to Bengali, Mughal, and Rajput history, and in *Chandra Gupta* to Maurya history. But his history is very much manipulated, and it would be more correct to describe it as romance. His interest is chiefly psychological. In his last play *Para Pāre* ("On the Shore Across"), he attacks the problems of modern Hindu society in Bengal. An interesting Muslim nationalist writer in Bengali is Maulvi Nazr-ul-Islam, whose poem *Bidrohi* is full of fire and originality.

URDU LITERATURE: NOVELS AND POETRY: SIR MUHAMMAD IQBĀL

In Urdu literature the wonderful growth of a flexible prose as exemplified in literary journals and modern novels is truly remarkable. In the modern novel the fashion set by Sharar is being followed up,—not in historical novels of a distant setting, but in character-drawing, in actualities, and in brisk story-telling. In this matter the fashion of detective novels, imported from the West, has been a great asset to the novelist. It must be confessed, however, that the use of the supernatural and of extraordinary coincidences has not yet been wholly discarded. Among numerous novels of wide circulation we may mention Prem Chand's *Chaugān-i-Hasti* and Zafar Umar's *Nili Chhatri* and *Lal Kathor*. Urdu poetry seems to be forsaking its old routes of imaginative abstractions and turning more to political and philosophical themes. The political interest is exemplified in Hasrat Mohani (born 1875) and Lal Chand Falak (born 1887), while the philosophical interest is personified in Iqbāl (1876-1938). Sir Muhammad Iqbāl also wrote his early poems in Urdu on patriotic themes, and poems like his *Hindustān Hamāra* and *Nayā Shivāla* attained great popularity as national songs. But his most serious work has been done in the Persian language. His four works, *Asrār-i-Kkudi*, *Ramūz-i-Bekhudi*, *Payām-i–Mashriq*, and *Zubūr–i ʿAjam* construct a definite system of Muslim philosophy, which is also reflected in his political utterances. Briefly it is a protest against two tendencies: (1) the tendency to quietism in the East, and (2) the tendency to accept Western civilisation as a moral force of any value. His call is a call to action, to self-assertion, and self-development. Whatever views may be held about his condemnation of the West, there can be no doubt of the eminent position of Iqbāl in the world of constructive thought. Our regret can only be that he forsook Urdu for Persian.

URDU DRAMA

The sad position of the Urdu stage is that it has not yet found a proper *milieu*, nor has it found a local centre, like the Bengali or the Marathi stage. Every Stage tends to be commercialised, and unless strong cultural standards exist, to counteract that tendency, it sinks lower and lower in repute. The commercial side of the Urdu stage is in the hands of Parsi capitalists. They are excellent men of business, and men like the late Mr. Khatāu took and take a pride in introducing mechanical improvements, but they are not interested in the literary capacities of Urdu. Even when they find a writer of talent and originality, the claims of commercial success turn him into a hack-writer paid a salary of so much a month. They hold the copyright of any plays he writes to order. He is too poor to launch a Play on his own, or to appeal to a reading public independently, and he has no rights in the Plays which are produced, sometimes in a garbled form, on the stage. This position is well summed up in a published letter* of the dramatist Agha Hashar, whose Plays have a

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*See the Journal *Khayalistan*, Lahore, September, 1930, pp. 10-12.

great vogue on the Urdu stage. He says:—"To be dependent on the orders, tastes, or commercial point of view of the proprietors of a commercial company, to make these the determining factors in a literary work and to endeavour to produce it in a given time—work under such conditions is not literary work; it is degradation of knowledge, servitude of the intellect, and hack-work of the pen. But hard necessity compels us to sacrifice our freedom of literary invention and our own natural instincts."

HOW THE STAGE CAN BE EMANCIPATED

The Bengali stage achieved its emancipation by the association together of men of letters, men of taste, and men of wealth, and the same recipe may be recommended for the ailments of the Urdu stage. There have not been wanting notable actors like 'Ali At-har of the Meerut Company, whose character and art tended to raise their profession in public estimation. And the increasing attention now paid to the Drama in Urdu literary journals is also a good augury for the future. It should however be added that the severe competition of the Talking Films will adversely affect the prospects of the Stage in this country, as it is doing in other countries of the world.

LESSONS OF THE PAST AND LIGHT FOR THE FUTURE

At different periods in our cultural history during the British period we have been swayed by different moods. We began with despair. We went out to imitate. We found the imitation barren, and we are discovering that we have put fetters on ourselves. In our first flush of shame at this discovery, we attribute the act of enslavement not to ourselves but to others. We take up the fashion of decrying the virile and still growing civilisations of the west, and in seizing upon their dark spots we forget their general service to humanity and to ourselves. Turning our gaze within, each of the elements of which we are composed seems to magnify itself forgetting or vilifying the others. The sense of proportion is thus lost and the lessons of past failures nullified. Mutual recriminations and mutual distrust prevent that sureness of step with which every youthful civilisation marches forward confidently into its future. Self-criticism in the right spirit may act as a tonic. Fortified with the tonic, our cells will put forward new growths and find cures for disease germs in the system. When such germs are eliminated and dead matter removed, the process of rejuvenation will put joy into our thought, concord into our social system, and a spirit of justice and co-operation into our economic and political arrangements. Every son and daughter of India, whether of Hindu, Muslim, or British descent, can then find spiritual satisfaction and pride in "our India," present, past, and future.

CHAPTER XIII

DOMINATING INTEREST OF POLITICS

It only remains to take stock of the present position.

It is, I think, true to say that all cultural movements in present-day India are dominated by politics. So long as the franchise was limited to a microscopic minority in India, politics floated on the surface among the English-educated classes, but barely interested the masses of the people. The Constitution of 1935 gave the vote to thirty-five millions of the people (twenty-nine million men and six million women) and brought the elective machinery for the highest offices in the State as it were to the door of the people. Moreover it brought the highest positions in the State and real power over the machinery of government within the reach of any individuals (men or women) or organized bodies which could command the votes in the remotest areas. This stimulated ambitions, and threw great opportunities in social, economic and cultural life, as well as in politics, into the hands of those who were in contact with the basic features of Indian life. Voters as well as candidates for offices threw themselves into the fray, and merged their other interests in political battles.

EFFECT ON HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The change of scene in politics gave a new meaning to the rivalries and antagonisms between the two great communities. Individuals as such began to count for less and less in public life. Those with the backing of the largest groups obtained the plums, and in order to retain such plums it was necessary to ensure the continuance of such backing. The smaller groups themselves began to plan aggregation into larger groups in order to obtain and retain their importance. There were jealousies and rivalries. There was much scrambling for power. There was much manœuvring for positions. Power once obtained, there was the desire for exclusiveness—for making it impossible for rivals to reverse the position. In a truly democratic atmosphere, where at least the individuals of influence are able to judge for themselves and party labels are founded on constantly developing general programmes and policies, the rivalry is healthy and leads to progress and public good. In an atmosphere where divisions are determined by fixed castes and creeds, there is stagnation, bitterness and sense of triumph on one side and hopeless frustration on the other, which stand in the way of an ordered progression of common welfare and general public good. The Communal tangle in India has landed us in this position. The correspondence between Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose as representing the Congress on the one hand, and Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, President of the Muslim League on the other, reveals a hopeless impasse from which it is difficult to see a way out without a radical alteration in the points of view of our Communal leaders. Even the individual friendly Hindu-Muslim relations and amenities of the old days are becoming rarer and rarer. Many of the Muslims who were within the fold of the Congress have withdrawn from that body and have become members of the Muslim League with its strong militant activities. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, who may be considered the leading Congress Muslim, now commands a very small following. Hindu-Muslim riots have taken place in nearly all the big cities of India and continue to be of frequent occurrence.

WANT OF INDIAN UNITY; REVOLUTIONARY AND TERRORIST MOVEMENTS

In the preparatory stages of the new Constitution which was enacted by the British Parliament in 1935, this want of unity on the Indian side was very marked and resulted in a very unsatisfactory piece of patch-work. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister of England, was determined to give India a "democratic" Constitution. It cannot be pretended that he understood the Indian conditions. His horizon was bounded by the pronouncements of the Indian National Congress party, but that party under Mr. Gandhi's lead had drifted into the position of being an unlawful association. Early in 1932 Mr. Gandhi had renewed his Civil Disobedience Movement. He himself preached non-violent non-cooperation, but his activities encouraged the terrorist and under-ground revolutionary movements. The Meerut Conspiracy Case, decided on the 15th January, 1933, had dragged on for 4½ years and revealed a connection of some Indian revolutionaries with the Communist International of Russia. Labour and Capital in India were to be set by the ears; strikes were to be encouraged; Indian labour organisations were to be fed with the Communist programme; and the Government established by law was to be overthrown. That the Government took a serious view of the situation is evident from the fact that they spent over eighteen lakhs of rupees in working out and prosecuting the case.

THE THREE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES

For hammering out the new Indian Constitution, three Round Table Conferences were held in London, to which Indian representatives were invited for consultation. The first Conference, in the winter of 1930-31, was boycotted by the Congress, but was attended by the representatives of other interests, including women not affiliated to the Congress. Some principles were then outlined (see last chapter) and they formed the basis of the Constitution as passed in 1935. The Second Round Table Conference was held in London in the winter of 1931-32, and was attended by Mr. Gandhi, who had by then been persuaded by the Viceroy (Lord Irwin) to abandon his non-cooperation attitude and to place his views fully and unreservedly before the Conference. He came with high hopes, and was even inclined to "give a blank cheque" to the Muslims in the Hindu-Muslim discussions for evolving an agreed share of representation for the two communities in the proposed Indian Legislatures. His followers were however alarmed at that attitude. No agreement could be reached either between the Hindu and Muslim delegations or between the Indian and the British points of view. The Third and final Round Table Conference sat in London in November and December 1932. By that time the Prime Minister (Mr. MacDonald) had given his "Communal Award" as to the representation of the two Communities in the Indian Legislatures. The question of the representation of the Depressed Classes in the new Legislatures had been raised. Mr. Gandhi had, consistently with his principles *viz.*, to give the under-dog always a chance, threatened to "fast unto death" on that question, and won his point. Thereafter, Mr. Gandhi was to devote himself mainly to the question of the Depressed Classes.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1935

The Round Table Conferences, having shifted the large number of varied and conflicting opinions placed before it, endeavoured to arrive at a scheme representing what it considered to be the greatest possible measure of agreement or the least possible measure of disagreement. Its report and proceedings went before the British Parliament, of which a Joint Select Committee gave definite form and shape to the Constitution which was passed in 1935. The underlying principle of this Constitution is the creation of eleven autonomous Provinces with responsible Government, whose working however is to be subject to certain safeguards under powers vested in the Governors of the Provinces. For the Central Government the Constitution proposed a Federation, but the Federation is not to consist only of the British autonomous Provinces but is to include the Indian States, with a complicated system of representation. The Federation is to have a responsible Government with the limitation however that Defence and External Affairs are not to be under its control but under the Governor-General, and the Governor-General is to have special responsibility in questions of Peace and Tranquility, the stability of Finance and Credit, and the Protection of Minorities. This portion, relating to the Central Federation, has not yet come into force, owing to certain difficulties with the Indian States.

ITS WORKING

The coming into force of the provincial portion of this Constitution with the holding of the Elections in the Spring of 1937, has worked an immense revolution in the social, economic and cultural (besides the political) life of India. The Congress Party participated vigorously in the Elections, in order (they said) to destroy this unwelcome Constitution from within, and they obtained majorities in seven of the Provinces. In the remaining four Provinces non-Congress majority Governments were set up, whose working showed that the Constitution provided substantial opportunities for the activities of responsible government. In the Congress majority Provinces, the Congress having refused to take office for some time, interim minority Governments were set up before the Legislatures were assembled. Meanwhile a strong party within the Congress was in favour of taking office. When the Governors gave a clear assurance that they would not use their exceptional powers in the day-to-day work of the administration, the Congress parties took office in the provinces where they had a majority, the interim minority Governments having resigned. This was in the summer of 1937. During the two years that have since passed, the responsible Governments in all the eleven provinces have been working without any special incidents to disturb the initiation of responsible Government in India. The popular policies to which they have directed their attention are: (1) reformed land tenure and land legislation, with a strong bias in favour of the tenantry; (2) temperance legislation, pointing in the direction of Prohibition, and (3) radical alteration in the machinery, control and subject-matter of education, with a tendency to bring education more and more into Indian hands, make it more and more responsive to Indian needs and Indian ideas; also the introduction of compulsory primary education. In addition there is desire to take all steps possible for fostering Indian industries.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC COROLLARIES OF THE PROGRAMME

There can be no doubt that, even allowing for the long time that must necessarily elapse before any considerable advance can be made towards the effective carrying out of this comprehensive programme, it must involve radical changes in the social and intellectual life of the people, and considerable displacement in the social strata that have been so far characteristic of India. The economic levers will be the most powerful in changing the life in both town and country. New groupings will take place. Old antagonisms will take new forms, and new antagonisms will arise. The Communal questions will get complicated with the disputes between landholders and tenants, between capital and labour, between money-lenders and debtors, between old historic families and newly-rich leaders of wealth and position. In the Congress party itself there are already visible signs of fissure between Socialists and Capitalists, between leaders with the old religious outlook and leaders to whom politics of the more positive western type appeal. In this respect Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose stand as definite symbols in the Congress camp, and His Highness the Aga Khan and Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the Muslim camp. Many other names may be similarly contrasted in other fields, such as education, industries, trade and commerce, agriculture and social reform.

EXPANSION OF EDUCATION

The development of education since 1930 has been less in the direction of the quantitative figures than in the direction of enlarging the scope of education and consolidating the scientific (as opposed to literary) and the practical (as opposed to theoretical) sides. The number of pupils under instruction in all classes of institutions rose from 12·7 millions in 1930-31 to 13·8 millions in 1935-6, but the expenditure on education from public funds fell from 18 crores of rupees in 1930-31 to 16·2 crores in 1935-6. An increased amount of expenditure from private funds has, however, kept the figure for total expenditure fairly constant, with a slight tendency to contraction on account of the economic depression. Probably the figures for pupils at the bottom of the scale were somewhat illusory in 1930 and they are so still. But the increasing attention being paid to primary education should remedy this defect in course of time. Indeed, there is a danger now, as in Bengal, with the enthusiasm of popularly elected Legislatures, that higher education may be starved in order to find more money for elementary education—which would amount to neglecting or throwing away the ripening fruit in order to increase the area of orchards being newly sown. The care of both is necessary, and a proper proportion should be established, so that the fullest and maturest results may be obtained from such education as is imparted to the people. But it is satisfactory to find that the universities are wisely enlarging the scope of their subjects, and making their work of scientific teaching and research more thorough and practical. The honours courses in science are being extended, and a great deal of historical, social and economic (including agricultural) research, is being carried out.

MORE SUBJECTS BEING TAKEN UP BY UNIVERSITIES

The enlargement of university laboratories enables them to handle many more scientific subjects than previously. Industrial Chemistry, Pharmaceutical Chemistry, Agricultural Chemistry, Experimental Psychology, and various branches of Physics, with a distinctly practical bias, are being taken up. Tutorial work is being greatly encouraged, and training classes are widening their scope and bringing more school teachers under their influence. The desire to Indianise the officering of the army has resulted in the organisation of numerous University Training Corps under the supervision of the military authorities. The demand for enrolment in such corps is indeed in excess of the facilities provided, in view of the high standards of efficiency rightly insisted on by the military authorities and the limited openings so far provided for Indian officers. The opening of the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun (1932) will provide a steady flow of properly qualified candidates for Indian Army commissions. In the schools the Boy Scout Movement has now attained large proportions. The Indian vernaculars are obtaining more and more footing in the universities, with perhaps a regrettable decline in the popularity of the Eastern classical languages, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. A few words may be added about the Wardha scheme of elementary education, issued under Mr. Gandhi's auspices in January 1938. In so far as it aims at teaching useful practical arts to students at an early age, the principle is sound. In so far as it aims at a self-supporting of education from the beginning, it is unpractical and unsound. It should always be remembered that too early an introduction of the earning question in education does violence to the psychology of the tender child, who should have plenty of play and pleasure before he or she comes face to face with the serious realities of economic life.

MEDICAL EDUCATION AND HEALTH MOVEMENTS

The efficiency of medical education in India was brought into controversy by the refusal of the General Medical Council in Great Britain in 1930 to recognize Indian medical degrees. Under the Act (XXVII) of 1933 a Medical Council of India was established in February 1934. It appoints a panel of Inspectors to inspect the courses of instruction of the medical examinations at the British Indian Universities. Indian doctors are increasing in numbers. They and the Indian dentists are doing valuable work for the health of the people. The Medical Research Fund Association helps in the acquisition of new medical knowledge under Indian conditions. The establishment of the Women's Medical Service ensures that women in *Purdah* shall receive proper medical attention and treatment. There is a general awakening in health matters. Municipalities, District Boards and other public bodies are providing health education in various forms and employing staffs to supervise health activities. *Dāis* (midwives) are appointed for the service of the poorer classes of mothers, and Baby Shows and Baby Weeks draw pointed attention to the methods and the need of improving the health and comfort of little children. The Red Cross organisation and the Junior Red Cross are entering more and more into the normal life of the people. Since 1937 there has been a Central Board of Health in India, which brings health movements to a focus.

THE STUDENT INTEREST AND ITS ORGANISATIONS

The enormous expansion of the student interest in India requires notice in her cultural history. Students are now able to influence courses of study, the framework of examinations, the hours and facilities in libraries, the arrangements for debates, etc. in their own institutions as well as in the general working of universities and in the general educational atmosphere of the country. There is an All-India Students' Federation and a similar Muslim Students' Federation, besides numerous local organisations. Students' strikes show that the educational machinery is not working smoothly. If they also show lack of discipline, its causes require careful examination by educational authorities. At any rate the modern student has independence of character and vitality of spirit, and if these lead to self-discipline, even if there is a protest against a wrong kind of discipline imposed from without, there is some hope that the ultimate gains may in some measure counterbalance the losses which friction must always involve. The system of examinations, both internal and external, requires radical alteration before we can say that our training leads to independence and originality of thought, combined with self-discipline, self-control, and self-respect—the ultimate ideals in education.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

The strength of the women's movements is in evidence everywhere. Women have not had to fight for the vote in India, as they had to fight elsewhere. They have been welcomed by the men, if for no more chivalrous reason than the fact that there are so few of them yet as competitors in public life. The first woman to be elected to an Indian Legislature, Dr. Mutha Lakshmi Ammal (Madras, 1927) was also at once elected by her Legislature as its Deputy President. Her medical knowledge and general experience fully justified the choice. Begam Shah Nawaz is in the Punjab Ministry. Women's Colleges have multiplied, and many women students study in men's colleges. Women's journals are also to be found in most of the vernaculars. The Maternity and Child Welfare Bureau working under the Red Cross is well served by women. Indian social life is being completely transformed by the part which Indian women now take in public affairs.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND TOWN IMPROVEMENT

Rural sanitation and water supply, rural communications, and the provision of brighter leisure hours for villages by means of the radio and the cinema have all tended to bring out the rural areas from isolation and link them to the larger life of the country. But there is a darker side to the picture. The old peacefulness and simplicity of rural life are tending to disappear. The drift to the towns continues. Education has not yet adapted itself to rural conditions. The educated man in the mass does not as a whole help in culturally enriching the village, but is on the contrary a prime factor in depleting it. The towns again have not developed traditions of civic life and civic pride. Many of the municipalities are badly lighted, and badly housed. Dusty, narrow, or unsavoury streets are still far too common in urban areas. A slight attempt has been made in the direction of town planning in Quetta after the Quetta earthquake of May 1935 and of Patna and other Bihar towns after the Bihar earthquake of January 1934, but the results are not appreciable except in the wider streets that have been planned after the earthquake destruction. After all, town planning depends on the habits and social ideals of the people and the extent to which the sense of architectural beauty has spread among the masses. A certain amount of town planning may be possible with mud huts, but more permanent housing material—masonry, stone or a superior kind of timber—is necessary to plan and maintain a beautiful town.

THE EFFECTS OF THE EARTHQUAKES

The enormous material damage caused by the two great earthquakes has not been without its cultural reactions. The Bihar earthquake (January 1934) covered an extensive area (estimated at 1,900,000 square miles) not only in Bihar but in Nepal and Tibet. The area of greatest intensity in which practically every *pucca* house was damaged, covered 6,000 square miles. Twelve towns with populations ranging from 10,000 to 60,000 were demolished. Monghyr and Darbhanga were among the worst sufferers. Railway bridges and culverts were destroyed or damaged. The levels of the country were altered, rivers changed their courses, and much land was silted. When the monsoons broke that year, there were floods. But on the whole the permanent damage turned out to be less than was expected. The time of the earthquake was in the afternoon, 2-13 p.m. when most of the inhabitants were out in the open air. Considering the enormous area affected, the loss of life was comparatively small, the official estimate being about 7,000 to 8,000 deaths. In this respect the Quetta earthquake of the 31st May, 1935 was a contrast. It occurred during the night at 3 a.m., when most of the people were asleep in their houses. The loss of life has been estimated at 25,000 and may well have been more. The epicentre was in area 70 miles by 15 miles, and included the towns of Quetta, Mastuing and Kalat. The greatest intensity was in Quetta, with its densely populated bazaars, of which practically nothing was left. The high mound of Kalat, which covered the growth of mud houses and forts for centuries was destroyed. But a healthier and more spread-out Kalat is now arising in the open which, given stable conditions in Baluchistan, may develop into a happier and more peaceful city than the one which is in ruins. Quetta is being rebuilt with earthquake-proof houses and wider and better-planned streets. It remains an important frontier military and air force station looking across the frontier to Afghanistan and Persia.

RELIEF MEASURES IN A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION

These dreadful calamities of nature called for relief measures, both immediately and for some time subsequently, both in the collection of resources and the distribution of relief and in disciplined organization to take account of all the human factors that arose out of fright, physical hurt, separation of families, burial of living persons within the *debris*, escorting of survivors to places of safety or to persons who could take care of them, and so on. Both official and non-official agencies were employed. The non-official agencies consisted of young men from Colleges and from other walks of life. They all worked well and in cooperation. They learnt habits of quick decision, firm action, kindly behaviour, inspiring confidence and team work in many forms. The test was good for them and prepared them for other forms of cultural cooperation. In floods and for keeping order in large fairs, boy scouts have acquitted themselves well, and for major calamities like the earthquakes, young men from College added great strength to the volunteer efforts. This will be employed more and more as time goes on.

FISCAL POLICY AND TRADE AGREEMENTS

For some years past India has been able, within certain limits, to control her import tariffs so as to encourage her own industries by means of what is known as the Fiscal Autonomy Convention. More recently she has been able to participate in definite trade agreements with England and Canada by tariff preferences on a reciprocal basis. England changed over definitely from free trade to protection about 1932; the rest of the Empire had been protectionist for many years. After 1932 it became a cardinal point of Empire trade policy to negotiate trade agreements on the basis of reciprocal preferences on specified articles. The Ottawa Trade Agreement (1932) was one in which India participated. The agreement was not popular with the Indian Legislative Assembly, which resolved in 1939 to terminate it. A new Trade Agreement has been negotiated between England and India by which the Manchester cotton industry gets a certain amount of preference as against Japan, but English opinion considers that it unduly favours India. In trade matters it is rash to appraise advantages or disadvantages in advance. But there is no doubt that India is determined to develop her cotton mill industry, and has already gone a long way to success in that direction.

HER INDUSTRIAL SITUATION

Her internal industrial situation is favourable, especially as regards steel, cotton and sugar. Her mineral production has also shown great expansion. According to Dr. Meek,* compared with the five pre-War years, there was an increase in the main industries in 1930 of 62 per cent in value and 80 per cent in the number of employees. In the same comparison mineral production increased in volume to 182 per cent. But in international trade she is still mainly an exporter of raw materials. As such she has to safeguard the exports of her surplus raw materials in a world growing more and more protectionist. Every effort is being made to make her industrial position stronger and stronger all along the line. But it will be long before she can utilise all her raw materials herself or produce her own machinery or motor cars or railway material. At present she suffers from three drawbacks: (1) an ill-educated labour force, (2) dearth of directional experience and energy among her own sons, and (3) the shyness of Indian capital. The Tata experiment shows that these are not insuperable obstacles. A rise in the standard of living must affect all these factors, and such a rise is unmistakably taking place. There is a tendency, in the new political order, to strengthen the position of the wage-earning classes, especially in the lower grades. Whether the lowering of salaries in the higher grades will not run counter to the aim to raise the general economic level throughout remains to be tested. But adjustments in any case are undoubtedly called for, and the greatest economic and social wisdom should be used in making them subserve the common good rather than favour particular interests in the scramble for votes.

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* See *The New India*, of *The Times*, London, 1937, p. 78.

MARKETING SCHEMES

Both the agricultural producer and the small craftsman-producer in India have been very much handicapped in the past by the absence of any well organised scheme of marketing. The absence, too, of any recognised system of grading and of facilities for ascertaining hour-to-hour prices in big centres very much hampered the most efficient producers and left them at the mercy of the middleman. Many of the old-established *Mandis* (marts) almost became the paradise of middlemen. The first comprehensive steps to help the producer in marketing his produce were taken in 1935. Marketing officers were then appointed and a programme chalked out. Now there is a large Central Marketing Staff, consisting of an Agricultural Marketing Adviser to the Government of India, Senior Marketing Officers, a Supervisor for Experimental Grading and Packing Stations, and several Assistant Marketing Officers. In addition most of the Provinces (as well as some of the Indian States) have their own marketing officers who work in cooperation with the Central Staff. They have undertaken marketing surveys, covering agricultural produce, fruits, and livestock products. They have studied prices and the question of grading produce. They seek to establish contacts between producers, distributors, wholesalers, manufacturers, railway agents etc. The object is to improve, organise, and develop marketing facilities, and problems of transportation, storage and preservation also come within their sphere of work.

LABOUR QUESTIONS: ORGANISATION OF LABOUR

Before the Great War, labour questions figured very little in public discussions in India, and their bearing on social life had not been noticed. After the Great War two Labour Cabinets have been in power in Great Britain, and the International Labour Office in Geneva has framed large schemes for Labour amelioration in all countries. Both these facts have supplied a great impetus to the modern labour movement in India. Labour in this sense means Industrial Labour. But the vast bulk of Indian Labour is employed in agriculture. The figure for agricultural Labour (excluding peasant proprietors) at the census of 1931 was 31½ millions, and it cannot be far short of 35 millions now. The number of factory workers (including miners) is short of two millions. The number, however, covered by the Workmen's Compensation Act is about seven millions. But the agricultural workers are merged in village life; their illiteracy is more intense than that of town workers; and their isolation has not yet produced any strong desire for combined action. The town workers on the other hand have had combinations of some sort for many years. Railway workers, on account of free communications by railway, were the first to form a union, the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (1897); this however was then more in the nature of a Friendly Society than a Trade Union in the modern sense of the word.

TRADE UNIONS

Real Trade Unions came after the Great War. In the great disturbances of prices in the period 1919-1923 the wage-earning classes found that their real wages fell appreciably, and scores of unions were then formed. Many of them were ephemeral. The All-India Trade Union Congress was formed in 1920. In 1928-29 the Communists captured many of the unions and later the Trade Union Congress. There were strikes and riots and repercussions in the political field. In 1929 the more moderate section of Trade-Unionism seceded from the Communist body and formed a separate organisation, the Trades Union Federation. There was a further split in the Trade Union Congress in 1931. Efforts for unity were made; the Communist element became weaker, and in 1935 the Federation agreed to work jointly with the Trade Union Congress. The two bodies combined in 1938, and the Indian National Congress Socialist Party (Political) also agreed to joint action with them. The combined Trade Union Congress has a membership of about 130,000 and the number of affiliated Unions is 160. This of course represents a very tiny proportion of the estimated two million factory workers in India. The most effective Labour Union in India (apart from Railway and Postal Unions) is the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Union. Under the new Constitution Labour as such is represented in the Indian Legislatures, mainly but not exclusively through registered Trade Unions.

TRADE UNION LEGISLATION

We may begin the story of recent Labour legislation with the Indian Trade Unions Act of 1926. It provided for the registration of Trade Unions, and laid down the conditions required for registration, including the proviso that at least half of the executive should consist of members actually engaged in the unit or group of units which the Union proposes to cover. The definition of a Union under the Act included a combination of employers or a combination of workers, but not a combination of both employers and workers. The objects were specified, on which the funds of the Union could be spent. They excluded political objects, but the Union could establish a separate *voluntary* fund for political objects. Immunity from prosecution for criminal conspiracy or from civil suits in certain cases was conferred on the Union. Registrars for Trade Unions have been established in all the Provinces. In 1935-36 the number of registered Unions furnishing the returns required by the Act was 205 for all British India, with a membership of 268,326 and an income of 5⅓ lakhs of rupees.

OTHER LABOUR LEGISLATION

The Factories Acts have been already referred to. The Workmen's Compensation Act was passed in 1923, came into force in 1924, and has been amended several times subsequently down to 1933. It affects a much larger number of workmen than those covered by the Factory Acts. Payment of compensation has been made obligatory on all employers whose employees come within its scope, even where there has been no negligence, where personal injury has been caused by accident arising out of and in the course of employment. The influence of British law on the subject is here (as elsewhere in Labour legislation) clearly marked. In regard to strikes and trade disputes, the Indian Trade Disputes Act of 1929, as amended in 1934 and 1938, has made provisions for Courts of Enquiry and Boards of Conciliation when such disputes actually occur. The Courts of Enquiry enquire into disputes referred to them by Government and make a report on its findings. The Boards of Conciliation would be set up to secure a settlement of the dispute. Neither the findings of the Court nor the advice of the Board is binding on either party; but time is gained, and an impartial verdict on the points in dispute forms public opinion, which is the final arbiter in the matter. As regards strikes in public utility services, fourteen days' notice in writing to the employer is made obligatory, failing which the strike becomes a penal offence. Strikes and lock-outs, with objects other than the furtherance of a trade dispute within the industry itself, and designed or calculated to inflict severe hardship upon the community and thereby to compel Government to take or abstain from taking any particular line of action, are declared illegal. There are no standing industrial courts or bodies in India to which trade disputes can be referred or conciliation machinery can be applied, as in England.

DEVELOPMENT OF AVIATION

Two new discoveries have yet to be mentioned which link India with the cultural transformations that are going on all over the world, *viz.*, the development of Aviation and regular Broadcasting. India has now a respectable

Air Force. The Royal Air Force has several squadrons in India, mainly based on the North-West Frontier and specially on Quetta. The Indian Air Force was constituted in 1932, and Indian officers are being trained for the Force. But we are here concerned with civil aviation. Here India figures very largely on world air lines. Imperial Airways run across India through Karachi to Eastern Asia and Australasia. The Dutch Line (K.L.M.) runs from Holland through India to Java. Air France similarly runs from France through India to Indo-China. Karachi is thus becoming a very important air-port. All first-class mail between Great Britain and India is now carried by air with no extra charge beyond the 1½d. per half ounce, reducing the time taken by a letter from London to Delhi from 18 days to 4 days.

BROADCASTING

Wireless, too, has made rapid progress in India. There are four short-wave broadcasting stations at the main centres to serve the whole country, and a number of small-power stations to serve the rural areas. It is difficult to estimate the number of wireless receivers used by the people. The number is not yet very large in private hands, but educational institutions, clubs, and other centres have been liberally equipped. Community receivers have in some cases been installed in villages, and efforts are being made to devise cheap sets for the purpose. Apart from the question of cost, there are two main difficulties in arranging for a wholesome and widespread cultural propaganda in the vernaculars. One is the multiplicity of languages and dialects used in any given area. More than six languages are being used for broadcasts, besides English. The other difficulty arises from the great variation in the tastes, standards, and leisure hours of the people. A broadcast couched in a way to appeal to one section of the people may leave another section cold or even be positively offensive to some section. The most popular vernacular broadcasts are comic—those intended for amusement. On the whole it is well that Government has so far kept broadcasting under its own control.

RELIGION *VERSUS* CUSTOM IN MUSLIM LAW

We may now close with a few remarks on certain aspects of religious thought in the two communities. The Muslims have long had, in the administration of their law through British Indian courts, a struggle between the force of local or family or sectional custom as against the wider and more universal principles of Muslim Law as worked out by their classical jurists. This has been specially so in their law of inheritance, and in provinces like the Punjab or among communities like the Khojas in Bombay. The British Indian courts have by recorded decisions crystallised a sort of customary law of local applications contrary to the provisions of general Muslim Law. The Muslim Personal Law (Shari'at) Application Act of 1937, which extends to all India excluding the North-West Frontier Province, gets rid of such local customs in most cases. It enacts that in all questions (save questions relating to agricultural land) regarding intestate succession, special property of females, including personal property inherited or obtained under contract or by gift or under any other provision of personal law, marriage, dissolution of marriage (under the various forms recognised by Muslim Law), maintenance, dower, guardianship, gifts, trusts and trust properties, and Waqfs (other than charities and charitable institutions and charitable and religious endowments), the rule of decision in cases where the parties are Muslims will be the Muslim Personal Law (*Shari 'at*). It further provides that any Indian Muslim can make a declaration that the Act will apply to him and to all his minor children and descendants. This provision was necessary in order to prevent the courts from holding that there was a particular family or local custom to the contrary, applicable to the particular case.

WIDENING HORIZON OF RELIGION THROUGH MODERN SCHOOLS OF HINDU THOUGHT

The foundation of the Ramakrishna Vivekananda Order has introduced a universality among the higher thinkers of Religious Hinduism, which is of interest to non-Hindus in India as well as to the world at large. The Order celebrated in Calcutta the centenary of the birth of

Ramakrishna (1836-1886) in 1936. It is one of the ideals of the Order to establish a Ramakrishna Institute of Culture "for the study and promotion of the creative achievements and spiritual experiences of the diverse races, castes, classes and communities of mankind on a scientific, comparative and cosmopolitan basis."* Its ambition is to discuss "the philosophies, religions, moralities, arts and crafts, sciences, literatures, industries, economic developments, measures for the control of poverty, health and educational organisations...etc. of the four quarters of the globe." The activities of Swami Vivekananda (1862-1902) in America and other countries outside India has attracted men and women from all over the world to the Indian centre on the basis of the formula that "every faith is a path to God." The attitude of the Movement towards Islam has been summed by Mr. Sarkar† in the following words:—

> "Diversity of faiths and races is to be accepted as a first postulate in all large-sized social groups. But the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Movement calls upon the Hindus to be serious enough in the matter of practising the teachings of Ramakrishna by opening their souls to the principles of Islam and other faiths. The Hindus ought by all means to cultivate the study of Muslim ideas and institutions and to recognise that at the bottom, Islam is not less Hindu in spirit than Hinduism itself."

SOCIAL SERVICE EXPERIMENTS

Side by side with the development of the amenities and trappings of outer civilization, a good many changes are taking place in social habits and modes of thought, and a good many social service experiments are being tried through public and private agencies. When men, women and children of all classes and creeds travel through fast electric trains, such as run in the suburban services of Bombay, or in the long distance electric trains between Bombay and Poona, a certain amount of social

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*See "The Remaking of Religion from Ramakrishna to Ramakrishna-Vivekananda" by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, in the *Calcutta Review*, March, 1937, pp. 291-298.

† *Id.* pp. 297-98.

ferment is generated which runs through the deeper channels of life. In Hinduism caste is not dead, but is insensibly decaying. The younger generation of modern Parsis sees life almost through European spectacles. The Maulvi type of Muslims exercises less and less influence on the Muslim mind and Muslim modes of life. Social Service and Welfare Campaigns are very much to the fore. The Piparia Experiment (in the Central Provinces) has attracted a good deal of attention. Its comprehensive scope is indicated by such items as the impovement of agriculture, the consolidation of fragmentary holdings, the reorganisation of cooperative societies, the promotion of adult schools, rural libraries, scout troops, the digging of refuse pits in villages, the provision of bored-hole latrines, the encouragement of vaccination and better housing*. The solution of the question of chronic indebtedness, and the problems of the pressure of population and food planning are also receiving attention†.

IMMENSE PROBLEMS BEFORE CULTURAL INDIA

The rapid survey which we have taken of cultural problems has shown what immense possibilities lie before India. In some respects these possibilities are not recognised by our own people. Some are content with an easy-going belief that education will solve many of our difficulties. But education has aggravated many of our difficulties. Others sound a pessimistic note and would cut up India into sections, giving up the hope of cultural unity as impossible of achievement. Dr. Tagore in his Convocation Address‡ to the students of the Calcutta University on February 17th, 1937, said:—

> "We in India are on the shore of this terribly turbulent sea of Time. It has not been given to us directly to take our share in piloting the world through its buffetings. But the drag of the maelstrom is upon us from without and within; also the advancing waves of chaos are beating right and left. Well-nigh insoluble problems rise to confront our country one after another.

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*Sir Edward Blunt: *Social Service in India*, p. 392.

†Radhakamal Mukerjee: *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions.*

‡*Calcutta Review*, March 1937, p. 280.

Communal separatism and dissension are taking menacing shape, polluting the very source of our well-being. The solution of these problems may not be easy, but if not found, we shall descend lower and lower into the abyss." The right attitude is, not to expect too much and not to despair, but to work steadily for the conditions in which alone progress is possible.

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